

DREYFUSS: IS IT CIVIL WAR? ■ HITCHENS: BRITAIN'S BIG BROTHER

MAY 8, 2006

The American Conservative

Disunited States

REGIME CRISIS

Patrick J. Buchanan

NEW REPUBLICAN MAJORITY?

Steve Sailer

THE POLITICS OF AMNESTY

W. James Antle III



AMERICAN CAESAR

While technically it is true as Pat Buchanan wrote on April 10, “[President Bush] has no power to launch U.S. air strikes on Iran, an act of war, unless Congress authorizes war,” the reality is that the president can do pretty much what he wants in the name of protecting the American people, particularly in time of war. Technically, Rome was still a republic under Augustus Caesar.

In the past half-century, American presidents have gone to war many times without an explicit, formal declaration of war by Congress. What recourse does Congress have should President Bush launch an air strike against Iran? It would have no choice but to support our troops and back the president. Bush would need the support of the American public, but as past wars have shown, war fervor is easy to generate, especially with the expertise in perception management that is at the White House’s disposal.

It is ironic that while President Bush supposedly supports a strict interpretation of the Constitution, he is extremely creative in finding penumbras to justify whatever he wants to do. As it is unrealistic to expect that terrorists will ever be completely eliminated from the face of the planet, this war on terrorism will last forever.

ROBERT CHARRON

Lost City, W.Va.

MERRY’S CLEAR VISION

Few who offer their opinions on the war have done so with as much historical perspective or analytic thought as Wayne Merry in “What Victory Lost” (April 10). Although speculative in nature, the position he offers solidly supports conservative thought yet can be shared by anyone willing to carefully analyze our mission in Iraq. This is an opinion that also anticipates the pat response of an administration whose mission seems to change several times per year, usually in response to whatever public-opinion fiasco is brewing.

Of course, all hindsight is 20/20, yet Mr. Merry’s arguments are intelligent and those of a patriot.

TIM ONOSKO

Madison, Wis.

LAUGH, CRY, OR DRINK

Help! I need relief! On every page, war, famine, death, destruction, pillaging and plunder, and even brilliant intellectuals making war with each other using really, really big words. It’s depressing.

One of my recent goals has been to read most of *TAC* without a glass of wine by my side, to avoid gloom. No such luck. I knew I was in trouble when I read an article by Pattaki—no, it was Takiconnell. You see! Even Shakespeare needed relief.

I confess. I used to subscribe to *The New Yorker*—back then it had such panache, such a smart, slick, mod cover, and even though I didn’t read the articles, there were those wonderful cartoons. Some of my patients were better off for them, and I certainly was.

I wish you guys would hire a couple of really good cartoonists—make it three of them. I’m sure you remember the old saying, “Laugh and the world laughs with you, cry and you cry alone.”

JOSEPH WOLODZKO, M.D.

Ann Arbor, Mich.

DICTATORSHIPS AND DOUBLE STANDARDS

In “Iran: The Logic of Deterrence” (April 10), Christopher Layne cites a very interesting quote from George Bush: “Iran is a nation held hostage by a small clerical elite that is isolating and repressing its people and denying them basic liberties and human rights.” If one were to omit “clerical” from that statement, he would find a peculiarly apt description of China’s repressive regime. One should question, then, why the Bush administration is so concerned about Tehran yet allows Beijing free rein to ramp up its military while preying on domestic U.S. manufacturing. Perhaps the answer lies

in the Bush administration’s continuing appeasement of multinational corporate interests at the expense of American’s future security. This sort of contradictory logic reveals, yet again, the hypocrisy at the core of the Bush presidency.

STEVEN CAPOZZOLA

Washington, D.C.

NO CHEERS FOR BUSH

In his piece “Conservative Crack-Up” (April 24), Pat Buchanan asks conservatives to consider three issues on which we remain united: judges, taxes, and sovereignty. Then he goes on to applaud George Bush as a success in these areas.

I disagree. Tax cuts without spending cuts amount to no more than a deferment of so-called revenue enhancement to future generations. And with Mexico governing our immigration policy, Israel our foreign policy, and the bureaucrats within NAFTA, CAFTA, and the WTO governing our trade policy, it is a stretch to credit George Bush with protecting our sovereignty. Furthermore, while the liberals were finding rights in the Constitution that were never there, this administration, with secret wiretaps, sneak and peek, domestic spying, and denial of *habeas corpus*, is taking away rights that are there. This loss of rights and the establishment of an imperial presidency are a greater threat to this nation than the liberal concept of a living and malleable Constitution.

We must face the fact that George Bush is not a conservative. He is a politician with no core beliefs.

JOHN DENTE

Wilmington, Del.

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[WAR]

NUCLEAR OPTION

Investigative ace Seymour Hersh, who broke the Abu Ghraib torture story, is back with another scoop. "The Bush Administration, while publicly advocating diplomacy in order to stop Iran from pursuing a nuclear weapon, has increased clandestine activities inside Iran and intensified planning for a possible major attack," he writes in the current issue of *The New Yorker*. Target lists have been drawn, and combat teams are operating within the country.

"There is a growing conviction among members of the United States military, and in the international community, that President Bush's ultimate goal in the nuclear confrontation with Iran is regime change," Hersh continues. Plans presented to the White House call for the use of tactical nuclear weapons against underground nuclear sites, an option that has created "serious misgivings" within the offices of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

"The bottom line is that Iran cannot become a nuclear-weapons state," a Pentagon advisor told Hersh. "The problem is that the Iranians realize that only by becoming a nuclear state can they defend themselves against the U.S. Something bad is going to happen."

For a man who declines to read the news, President Bush took the unusual step of dismissing the story as "wild speculation"—which is not the same as calling it untrue.

[STRATEGY]

ABOUT FACE

In a long overdue—though still admirable—move, Marine Lt. Gen. Greg Newbold, the Pentagon's former top operations officer, has gone public with his doubts about the Iraq War.

"Inside the military family, I made no secret of my view that the zealots' rationale for war made no sense," New-



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bold writes in *Time* magazine. "And I think I was outspoken enough to make those senior to me uncomfortable. But I now regret that I did not more openly challenge those who were determined to invade a country whose actions were peripheral to the real threat—al-Qaeda." He retired four months before the invasion, in part to protest "those who used 9/11's tragedy to hijack our security policy."

Newbold is careful to say that he supported going into Afghanistan—as did TAC—and cautions against a "precipitous withdrawal" from Iraq. But he checks his wariness long enough to attack Pentagon brass who "knew the plan was flawed, saw intelligence distorted ... witnessed arrogant micromanagement" and—he would do well to include himself here—"acted timidly when their voices urgently needed to be heard."

With an attack on Iran increasingly probable, the voices of other senior officers need to be heard now—not after worst fears have again been realized. General Newbold provides an example, though we wish for the sake of his country and his Corps that he had found his spine much sooner.

[POLITICS]

THE HOUSE DELAY BUILT

Former House Majority Leader Tom DeLay's announcement that he is pulling out of his re-election race and resigning

from Congress has been described as the end of an era, but it is really something else—the end of any illusions about the Republican majority on Capitol Hill.

For DeLay's career closely followed the path taken by the congressional GOP. Elected in 1984, DeLay spent the 1980s and early '90s as a conservative backbencher and bomb-thrower, pushing for lower taxes and smaller government over the objections of the Democratic majority—and often his own party's conflict-averse leadership. Even when DeLay joined that leadership after the Republicans seized control of Congress in 1994, he remained something of a maverick. He won the whip slot by beating Newt Gingrich's handpicked candidate. Later, he would play a role in trying to drive Gingrich from the leadership.

"The Hammer" proved to be effective at cobbling together majorities to pass GOP initiatives. But his K Street Project, designed to hold power more than to advance principle, deeply entangled Republicans with the Washington establishment they pledged to dismantle. DeLay's involvement of lobbyists in writing legislation and whipping votes went beyond anything contemplated by the Democrats. All this coincided with a GOP majority comfortable with power, obsessed with fundraising, and increasingly reckless with taxpayer dollars.

Today that majority looks very much

like the Democrats it displaced—profligate, beset by ethical scandals, and out of touch. This is the Republican Party of Tom DeLay.

[MEDIA]

WHITE HOUSE: BECAUSE WE SAID SO

The Bush administration must be feeling the sting of conservative dissent on the Iraq War. The White House dispatched one Peter Wehner—deputy assistant to the president and director of the White House's Office of Strategic Initiatives—to the *Wall Street Journal* op-ed page to rebut a "small group of conservatives and former conservatives" who "have become harsh critics" of the war. The results aren't very impressive.

Wehner disputes William F. Buckley's contention that the war is lost by noting that "our own democratic development—which included the Articles of Confederation and a 'fiery trial' that cost more than 600,000 American lives—would remind critics that we must sometimes be patient with others." No word on whether we plan to remain in Iraq for the 84 years that elapsed between the Articles and the end of the Civil War.

George Will and Francis Fukuyama are criticized for suggesting that the "freedom agenda is dead." After all, Wehner reminds us, everyone everywhere longs to be free and democratic—they just need the intervention of the United States to help them along. Wehner isn't a fan of Will's "cultural determinism," which he argues is disproved by the postwar democracy in Japan and the abolition of slavery in our own country.

"Critics of the Iraq war have offered no serious strategic alternative," claims Wehner. And Wehner offers no defense that acknowledges facts on the ground or leaves the realm of ideology. If this is what passes for strategic thinking in the

Office of Strategic Initiatives, one can begin to understand why we are in such trouble.

[TAXES]

DEBT CLOCK NEEDS DIGITS

As the millions stacked into overpriced studio apartments will confirm, Manhattan runs short on space. Now the national debt clock, located in Times Square, is also feeling the squeeze.

When the counter was built in 1989, the national debt stood at \$2.7 trillion. But with the tally topping \$8 trillion and racing toward that dreaded 14th digit, the real-estate developer who built it is forced to contemplate a larger sign.

For a time, near the close of the millennium, when it looked as if the tide of red ink might be turning, the clock encountered a happy problem: it wasn't equipped to run backwards. But two years into the Bush presidency, it whirled back to life and has been spinning ever since, estimating the current family share at nearly \$90,000.

Conservatives can be forgiven for thinking that handing Republicans the keys to the White House and Congress might have resulted in a little fiscal responsibility. But just the opposite has happened. Not only has the Bush administration poured some \$300 billion into the sands of Iraq, but as Citizens Against Government Waste's *2006 Pig Book* documents, last year Congressional appropriators stuffed 9,963 projects into 11 appropriations bills—none of which was even considered for a presidential veto.

So as you trudge to the post office on April 15, know that you have the privilege of funding the \$1 million Waterfree Urinal Conservation Initiative, sending \$500,000 to the Teapot Museum in Sparta, North Carolina, and giving shrimp aquaculture research a \$4.2 million boost. Worse, you're not paying for this larded legislation at all—as the ticking in Times Square attests. ■

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Regime Crisis

At this writing, France has capitulated to mass demonstrations and canceled a labor law that would have let employers dismiss workers under 26.

For the French, the cave-in is truly bad news. It means the political system is not strong enough to take even modest measures to liberate France from a socialist system that is a freshwater fish in the salt waters of the Global Economy.

If despair and gloom are widespread in France, they are justified. With a birthrate below what is needed to continue as a French nation, its 5-8 million Arab and Islamic immigrants alienated, a limping economy, and no way to cast off socialist shackles, France's future appears grim.

In America, too, a regime crisis appears at hand.

Millions have massed in cities from Los Angeles to Phoenix to Dallas to Washington to demand that 12 million illegal aliens be granted full rights of U.S. citizens and all talk of defending U.S. borders be halted at once. Republican and Democratic politicians have been rendered speechless by the size of the demonstrations.

But the demonstrations reveal something more unsettling. That hundreds of thousands of illegal aliens, all subject to deportation, would defiantly march under foreign flags in U.S. cities suggests the government of the United States has lost its moral authority.

For two decades, George H.W. Bush, Bill Clinton, and George W. Bush have failed—or rather refused—to do their constitutional duty to defend the states from this invasion. Now the message had gone out to the world. Americans can't or won't defend their country. We

can walk in and take over. And they are coming in the millions, every year.

And where is our commander in chief? He backs McCain-Kennedy, the bill to grant amnesty to the 12 million and blanket pardons to the corporate chisellers who hired them and passed on to taxpayers the costs of their health, education, and welfare.

This would put the illegals on the road to lifetime benefits from our welfare state and allow U.S. companies to go overseas and hire hundreds of thousands of workers yearly to bring back to replace Americans who balk at working for Third World wages.

This is the opposite of what Americans have told pollsters for 20 years they want. It is the opposite of what Arizonans and Californians have voted for every time they have held a referendum.

According to a new *Washington Post*-ABC poll, 60 percent of the people now disapprove of Bush's performance, the strongest repudiation of his leadership since January 2001. And the Republicans who control Congress are running 15 points behind the Democrats. If the elections of 2006 were held today, the GOP would be annihilated.

But what do the Democrats offer us? Censure, taxes—and Cynthia McKinney.

If you think this Congress is an agonizing disappointment, wait for the new House, where chairmanships will be assumed by Barney Frank, John Conyers, and Henry Waxman, with Ways and Means and tax-writing power going to Charlie Rangel. That should be good for a 1000-point plunge in the Dow.

What is the probability of tough legislation to halt the invasion and put the U.S. government back in control of its frontiers? Given the makeup of this Senate—with Democrats virtually united in their resolve to make those 12 million illegal aliens new Democratic voters, and half the GOP terrified of being called "racist" or "xenophobic"—zero.

Indeed, if such a law were passed, it is questionable Bush would enforce it. For he has refused to enforce existing law or defend our southern border and has stated flatly he cannot secure the border unless given an amnesty/guest-worker program to go with it.

And who is the likely replacement for Bush in 2009? Hillary or McCain, both now competing with each other in the generosity of the amnesties they would bestow.

America is facing something of a regime crisis. The president's poll numbers are falling not simply because of perceived incompetence—Katrina, Harriet Miers, the Dubai ports deal—but because his policies are failing. His trade policy has created the greatest trade deficits in history and accelerated the death of U.S. manufacturing. His immigration policy has left our borders undefended and millions of illegals marching for their "rights" under foreign flags. His democracy crusade is being ridden to power by anti-Americans from the Middle East to Latin America. His Iraq expedition has given us endless bleedings of blood and money.

What does McCain offer? On trade, immigration, and Iraq, he is 100 percent Bush. If Mexican radical Obrador wins in July and appears headed for the presidency, Americans may be looking around for a General Pershing. At least "Black Jack" understood border control. ■

[12 million can be wrong]

The Politics of Amnesty

When the Senate speaks of immigration reform, it doesn't mean enforcement.

By W. James Antle III

AS SENATORS LEFT Washington for their Easter recess, an estimated 100,000 protestors arrived for a rally on the National Mall. The Senate adjourned without completing work on an immigration bill that was weak on enforcement and offered amnesty to millions in the country illegally. The demonstrators, many of them illegal aliens, were there to demand that they finish the job.

Capitol Hill has been preparing for this fight since President Bush came out for an expansive amnesty program over two years ago. On this issue, the White House has many Senate allies in both parties, but the majority of House Republicans are on the other side. As we go to press, it is unclear whether amnesty proponents have been rebuffed through the midterm elections or have suffered merely a temporary setback.

Public opinion certainly isn't on their side. An AP-Ipsos poll shows Americans list immigration alongside the war and the economy among their top concerns, with a percentage that has quadrupled since January. A Quinnipiac survey showed that 62 percent oppose making it easier for illegals to become citizens. The only polls that show significant support for guest workers or amnesty tend to be vaguely worded. "Under some of them, I'd almost be classified as a Bush amnesty supporter," quips Craig Nelsen of Project USA.

But the look and feel of the immigration debate is changing in ways that make it likely that amnesty will be dis-

cussed again. Last year, it was news stories about the Minutemen—private citizens, concerned about the system's lawlessness and buffeted by economic competition from cheap migrant labor, who organized effective civilian border watches—that predominated. Over the last few months, the focus has shifted to the illegal immigrants themselves.

First came the usual sympathetic human-interest stories in obliging newspapers and magazines about high-school valedictorians and longtime undocumented residents who climbed out of grinding poverty through hard work and entrepreneurial skill. More recently, however, the vast illegal population has shown a more menacing side as huge crowds have taken to the streets waving Mexican, Dominican, and other foreign flags (interspersed with the American flags recommended by more cautious demonstration organizers) while insisting that U.S. immigration law be reshaped to accommodate them. Recent protests brought out 50,000 people in Denver, 350,000 in Dallas, and a staggering 500,000 in Los Angeles.

The catalyst was the proposed crack-down on illegal aliens that passed the House of Representatives in December. Instead of anything that could be construed as amnesty, the House voted to build a security fence along the southwestern border, establish a mandatory verification system for the legal status of workers, and stiffen penalties against alien smugglers and the illegals them-

selves. Immigrant communities joined business, labor, and civic leaders in strenuous opposition.

If the House bill was designed to address the concerns that gave rise to the Minutemen, the Senate has mostly worked with measures that appease illegals and their employers. As the upper chamber took up immigration in January, guest-worker bills proliferated, differing mainly in the details of how many illegals they would legalize and under what conditions. The complexity had its reasons: the more hoops illegals needed to jump through to obtain green cards, the harder senators thought it would be to argue they had passed another amnesty. Even one of the tougher proposals, offered by Sens. John Cornyn (R-Texas) and Jon Kyl (R-Ariz.), contained a large temporary-worker component.

At first it looked like senators would be hopelessly bogged down in these details, preventing any single guest-worker bill from winning majority support. But on March 27, the Senate Judiciary Committee gave preliminary approval to a generous amnesty program sponsored by Sens. John McCain (R-Ariz.) and Ted Kennedy (D-Mass.). Employed illegals would be set on a path to citizenship after spending six years as legal guest workers and paying all fines and back taxes. On top of that, 400,000 new guest workers would be admitted annually to fill low-skilled positions.

McCain-Kennedy received the unanimous backing of the committee's

Democrats plus four Republicans, including Judiciary Committee Chairman Arlen Specter (R-Pa.). But Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist (R-Tenn.) was in a bind. The legislation was more lenient than most Americans—and certainly the conservative primary voters he needs to woo for a 2008 presidential bid—want, and a bill that passed with more Democratic than Republican votes would give him precious little cover.

Conservatives began to talk about filibustering McCain-Kennedy, and McCain soon acknowledged that he did not have the votes to end debate. So Frist continued to tout his own enforcement-only alternative publicly while searching for a compromise behind the scenes.

Enter Sens. Chuck Hagel (R-Neb.) and Mel Martinez (R-Fla.), with the bill that will be the likely starting point for any future Senate immigration deliberations. Hagel-Martinez tried to set illegal immigrants on three separate tracks, depending on how long they had been breaking the law. The bill made the illegals living in the United States for more than five years as of January 2004 eligible for amnesty and required unlawful workers who had been here for two to five years to return home briefly and apply for guest-worker status from a U.S. point of entry. Illegals who have been here for less than two years would be threatened with enforcement.

Hagel-Martinez was more a convolution than a compromise. House members quickly denounced the bill. “It’s miserable public policy, and it will be rejected by the House of Representatives,” argued Congressman Tom Tancredo (R-Colo.). Congressman J.D. Hayworth (R-Ariz.) called it “amnesty wrapped in bureaucracy surrounded by fraud.” But many senators seemed ecstatic.

“We’ve had a huge breakthrough,” Frist enthused. In a joint appearance, Senate Minority Leader Harry Reid (D-

Nev.) said, “We can’t declare victory. But we’ve moved a long way down the road.”

Not that long, as it turned out. Conservatives continued to have misgivings and pressed for amendments—one would have delayed any adjustment in immigrants’ legal status until after the Department of Homeland Security certified that the border was secure—that would make the bill stronger on the enforcement side.

Democrats, fearful of casting unpopular votes against border security during an election year, wanted Hagel-Martinez to pass unchanged. They accused Republicans of “filibustering by amendment.” In the end, a vote to end debate—opposed by six Democrats and all Republicans—was defeated 38 to 60.

“I think politics got in front of policy on this issue,” Ted Kennedy lamented. But Hagel-Martinez is hardly good policy. An example: University of Missouri, Kansas City law professor Kris Kobach argued in the *New York Post* that an obscure provision would effectively staff immigration-court judgments with

were approved. Independent estimates of fraud reach as high as 70 percent.

A recurring theme in this debate is that enforcement has been tried repeatedly and found wanting, while the creation of legal channels for low-skilled immigration will enhance incentives to comply with the law for migrants and employers alike. But in fact, real employer sanctions have never been consistently enforced and both amnesties and guest-worker programs have failed to stem illegal immigration. “With zero enforcement, there’s really no case for amnesty,” says Mark Krikorian, executive director of the Center for Immigration Studies.

The 1986 amnesty was followed by at least six smaller, targeted legalizations. The 2000 reinstatement of the Section 245 (i) rolling amnesty affected at least 900,000 illegal aliens. In 1990, the first President Bush signed into law a 35 percent increase in legal immigration to curb undocumented work, but illegal immigration soared throughout the 1990s—even though we admitted 1 million newcomers per year through legal channels.

“WITH ZERO ENFORCEMENT, THERE’S REALLY NO CASE FOR AMNESTY,” SAYS MARK KRIKORIAN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE CENTER FOR IMMIGRATION STUDIES.

lawyers who have represented aliens in such courts themselves—hardly an indication of a get-tough stance in the future.

The bill’s tough-sounding array of background checks and separate paths to legalization are completely unworkable. Government documents are susceptible enough to fraud; verifying how long an illegal has been in the country through utility bills and rent receipts will be even more challenging.

We have been down this road before. When Congress enacted a broad-based amnesty in 1986, 3 million illegal aliens applied for legalization—about twice the number expected—and 90 percent

“But these legal immigrants, far from being a substitute for illegal ones, were a magnet for them,” observed John O’Sullivan in the *Chicago Sun-Times*. “They sheltered newcomers from home, found jobs for them, and provided a sea in which 11 million of them could swim undetected by the law.” Illegals are drawn as much by pre-existing immigrant social networks as by the jobs Americans supposedly won’t do.

Which may actually be the jobs that Americans can’t get. Steven Camarota of the Center for Immigration Studies recently published a study showing that of the net adult jobs created between

March 2000 and March 2005, only 9 percent were filled by native-born workers.

Yet as Congress decides what to do next, expect politics to play a larger role than complex economic arguments. Here the data is much less in dispute. A Rasmussen poll asked: "One candidate favors building a barrier along the Mexican border and forcing illegal aliens to leave the United States. The other candidate favors expanding the ways foreign workers can legally get jobs in the United States."

Overall, the restrictionist candidate won by 46 percent to 38 percent. But among the 50 percent of voters who said immigration was very important in determining their vote, the pro-enforcement margin was 67 percent to 23 percent.

Thus the stakes are high for both parties. "If the Republicans want to remain the party of law and order and national security, they will have to be the party of border security," says Stephen Manfredi of the political consulting firm Shirley and Banister. "An enforcement-first stance would go a long way toward alleviating the GOP base's doubts." This may be why House Majority Leader John Boehner (R-Ohio), one of the few congressmen to break with his party on immigration in December, has since changed his tune.

Writing at *Talking Points Memo*, Michael Lind had a similar warning for Democrats: "Law and order is a centrist issue, not a far-right issue, and preventing millions of foreigners each year from violating our nation's immigration laws with impunity is the central law and order issue of our time."

Sensing the alienation of the immigrant protestors marching their Mexican flags down Main Street, one wonders if the illegal-alien crisis isn't an even more fundamental issue—one of national identity. The only thing worse than a broken immigration system is a balkanized country. ■

[the roviaian delusion]

New Republican Majority?

California has been the test case for the electoral impact of mass immigration. Color it deepest blue.

By Steve Sailer

AS VETERAN TRUTH-TELLER Thomas Sowell pointed out recently, "Phony arguments and phony words are the norm in discussions of immigration policy." And no myth has become more entrenched in the media than that California demonstrates that cracking down on illegal immigration would be political suicide for Republicans.

For example, reporter Dan Balz proclaimed in the *Washington Post* following the Senate's April 6 immigration "compromise" (i.e., surrender), "GOP officials ... point to California as the example they hope to avoid. Twelve years ago, then-Gov. Pete Wilson (R) pushed an anti-immigration ballot measure that sought to deny state assistance to undocumented immigrants. The initiative passed and helped Wilson win reelection, but it triggered a surge of new Democratic Latino voters in subsequent elections that have left Republicans deep in the minority in the state."

This conventional wisdom is actually a bizarrely demonological distortion of the history of America's largest, most visible state. Instead of one man somehow permanently warping the political destiny of 37 million people, California's shift from the Republican to the Democratic column reflects tectonic demographic shifts, largely driven by immigration, that are spreading nationwide, and thus demand honest study.

The truth is close to the opposite. California voted for Republican presidential candidates in nine of the ten elections from 1952 through 1988. The collapse of the California GOP first became evident in 1992, two years before Prop. 187, when Republicans got skunked in California in the presidential election and two U.S. Senate races. In the last dozen major contests for president, governor, or senator there, Republicans have won only the two times they appealed to voter anger over illegal immigration. The ten times they meekly avoided the topic, they quietly went down to defeat.

After moderate Republican Pete Wilson won the 1990 gubernatorial election, a severe recession made him "the most unpopular governor in the history of modern polling," according to a 1994 *California Journal* article. Wilson entered his 1994 re-election bid trailing by 20 percentage points. By making Prop. 187 the centerpiece of his campaign, Wilson came from behind and won by 15 points. Prop. 187 itself passed by 18 points.

Wilson is now commonly derided as the man who destroyed the California GOP by backing Prop. 187 and two subsequent anti-multiculturalist initiatives. Yet Prop. 209, which outlawed racial quotas, passed by nine points in 1996, and Prop. 227, which banned bilingual education, won by 22 points in 1998.

When Wilson left office in 1998 due to term limits, his approval rating was at its highest ever.

In contrast, 1998 Republican gubernatorial candidate Dan Lungren came out against the anti-bilingual-education Prop. 227. He lost to Gray Davis by 20 points. Similarly, in the 2000 presidential election, George W. Bush—who supported amnesty, bilingual education, and “affirmative access” (quotas)—outspent Al Gore \$20 million to nothing in California and still lost by 11 points. In 2004, Bush lost to John Kerry by 10 points.

It’s often said that angry Latinos made subsequent Republican candidates pay for Wilson’s sins, but where are the numbers? According to the Census Bureau, California Hispanics cast 11.4 percent of the vote in 1994 and 13.9 percent in 1998. In both elections, the Republican gubernatorial candidate won 23 percent of the Hispanic vote, so the celebrated Latino “tidal wave of anger” accounted for less than a tenth of the Republicans’ plummet from Wilson’s 55 percent in 1994 to Lungren’s 38 percent in 1998.

The often-trumpeted Hispanic political ascendancy hasn’t quite gone through the formality of taking place yet—Latinos constituted only 6 percent of voters nationally in 2004—even in California.

The Achilles’ heel of Hispanic electoral clout has always been turnout. According to a 2002 study by demographers Jack Citrin and Benjamin Highton of the Public Policy Institute of California, although non-Hispanic whites made up only 47 percent of California’s population in 2000, they will still cast a majority of the votes in California more than a third of a century from now. The PPIC forecasts that in 2040, whites will constitute 53 percent of California’s electorate—twice the Hispanic share. (Of course, changes in immigration policy, such as putting millions of illegal immigrants on the path to citizenship, could change this.)

In truth, Lungren lost because whites didn’t show up and vote for him. While the number of Hispanic voters increased by 160,000 from 1994 to 1998 (out of 8.4 million votes cast), the non-Hispanic vote total dropped by 975,000. Without Prop. 187 to bring them to the polls, the percentage of non-Latinos voting fell from 41.4 percent to 35.9 percent.

Yet what truly doomed him in 1998 was that while Wilson had won 61 percent of the white vote in 1994, Lungren took just 45 percent. When a Republican doesn’t win the white vote, he doesn’t win the election. Period.

Indeed, out of the last dozen major races in California, the GOP has only won a majority of the white vote twice: Wilson in 1994 and in the 2003 recall, when Republicans Arnold Schwarzenegger and Tom McClintock garnered 67 percent.

THE OFTEN-TRUMPETED **HISPANIC POLITICAL ASCENDANCY** HASN’T QUITE GONE THROUGH THE **FORMALITY OF TAKING PLACE YET**—LATINOS CONSTITUTED ONLY **6 PERCENT OF VOTERS** NATIONALLY IN 2004—EVEN IN **CALIFORNIA**.

All the GOP candidates in California avoided Wilson’s winning anti-multiculturalist theme until the 2003 gubernatorial recall election in which the Democratic leadership foolishly handed the GOP its trump card by giving driver’s licenses to illegal aliens.

A month before the 2003 recall, Democratic governor Gray Davis sealed his fate by signing the legislature’s bill granting illegal aliens licenses without the criminal background checks he had previously demanded. On talk-radio station KFI, John and Ken, the tribunes of working guys who drive the freeways of Southern California all day selling or fixing stuff, made this a passionate issue. Both Schwarzenegger and McClintock ran against it. On Election

Day, 70 percent told the *Los Angeles Times* exit pollsters that they opposed the bill.

With two Republicans splitting the vote, all that Davis’s lieutenant governor Cruz Bustamante, the only Democrat in the simultaneous race to replace the governor, needed to do to win was to position himself as the unthreatening centrist he’d been during a long career servicing big agribusiness in the Central Valley. In 1993, for example, he’d voted against illegal immigrants obtaining driver’s licenses.

Yet rather than run for governor of California, Bustamante campaigned as if the race were for *El Gobernador de Mexifornia*. Instead of competing with Schwarzenegger for the middle-of-the-road citizens, he battled Green Party candidate Peter Camejo (who won 2.8 percent) for the stick-it-to-the-gringo

vote. Bustamante paid frequent tribute to “undocumented workers” and their moral right to driver’s licenses, reduced college tuition, and welfare. Despite leading at the beginning of the campaign, he was ultimately crushed by legal immigrant Arnold Schwarzenegger 49 percent to 32 percent, with McClintock taking 14 percent.

After getting off to a strong start, including repealing illegals’ licenses as promised, Schwarzenegger stumbled badly in 2005 by not realizing that his slate of initiatives to undermine the power of the public employees unions were perceived by his natural base, the white lower-middle class, as an assault on their survival in California’s outlandishly expensive housing market.

Firemen, cops, nurses, and teachers—finding themselves squeezed between the Silicon Valley venture capitalists and Hollywood entertainment lawyers above them and the masses of illegal immigrants below them, and in direct competition for homes with extended families of Asian legal immigrants who often muster three or four paychecks per household—rallied support from their neighbors, who saw their union perks not as sinecures but as life preservers.

So what has really happened in California that has driven the GOP from being the natural majority party to one that wins only on the rare occasions when it can bring itself to rely upon populist outrage? Obviously, the arrival of millions of Hispanic and Asian immigrants, both voting solidly Democratic, has hurt the GOP. But immigration has also made California's white voters more liberal.

American voting is increasingly driven by what I call "affordable family formation." The GOP's image as the family-values party is most appealing in states where voters are most likely to have families. Where it is cheap to buy a house with a yard in a neighborhood with a decent public school, you'll find more marriages, more children, and more Republicans.

In 2004, George W. Bush carried only 44 percent of single white females but 61 percent of married white women. Thus, he won the 25 states where white women are most likely to be married between ages 18 and 44. (California, in contrast, ranks 49th.) And he was victorious in 25 of top 26 states in the number of babies born over the average white woman's lifetime. (California is now 45th, way down from 15th in 1990.)

In America today, many young people don't start down the road to marriage, children, and voting Republican until they can afford a down payment on a

house. So Bush carried the 20 states with the cheapest housing costs (California has the most expensive), and the 26 states with the least home price inflation since 1980 (California is 46th from the bottom).

California once epitomized affordable family formation. The Golden State was the promised land of the common man from 1950 to 1975. Wages were reasonably high, while suburban housing was cheap in the narrow strip along the coast offering an exquisite Mediterranean climate. California became famous for its abundance of teenagers.

After 1975, however, the changing balance of supply and demand sent California home prices soaring, due both to internal migration and the beginning of the vast influx of the foreign-born, who by 2002 made up 27 percent of California's residents.

The 1986 amnesty for illegal aliens (1.6 million in California alone) sped the decline of California's affordability by setting off a Hispanic baby boom in the state. Laura E. Hill and Hans P. Johnson of the Public Policy Institute of California wrote in 2002:

Between 1987 and 1991, total fertility rates for foreign-born Hispanics increased from 3.2 to 4.4 [expected babies per woman over her lifetime. ... Why did total fertility rates increase so dramatically for Hispanic immigrants? First, the composition of the Hispanic immigrant population in California changed as a result of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986. ... As a result, many young adult Hispanic women came to California during the late 1980s.

When all these children of amnestied Spanish-speakers reached school age, that just made California's public schools even less appealing to white

potential parents. (A likely, but unmentioned, consequence of a new amnesty would be a national baby boom among the least educated immigrants.)

A net of almost 2.2 million California citizens moved out of the state during the 1990s, with the greatest outflow from 1994 to 1998. Many went looking for a cheaper place to raise kids. Between 1990 and 2000 in California, the total fertility rate for non-Hispanic whites dropped 14.4 percent, compared to only 1.2 percent nationwide.

Brookings Institute demographer William H. Frey told me in 2000, "Another cause of the rise of the California Democrats is selective out-migration of the more rock-ribbed Republicans. The folks who have been leaving California's suburbs for other states have the white, middle-class demographic profiles of Republican voters. California's middle class families are being squeezed out by real estate prices. And Republicans are heading for whiter states where they won't have to pay taxes for so many social programs for the poor."

Meanwhile, the whites moving to California to work in Silicon Valley and Hollywood tended to be economically elite and socially liberal.

For those who stayed behind in California, it has become increasingly hard to form families. Four of my seven closest friends from my old San Fernando Valley high school married for the first time after their 40th birthdays. Life in California has begun to resemble a Jane Austen novel, with couples waiting for a grandparent to finally die and leave them a bequest so they can afford to wed.

If the Senate has its way on immigration, the Californication of the rest of America will accelerate. ■

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Is It Civil War Yet?

Far from serving as a democratic model for the Middle East, Iraq is slipping deeper into sectarian violence.

By Robert Dreyfuss

MORE THAN THREE YEARS after the U.S. invasion of Iraq, the same catch-22 that has plagued U.S. efforts to put Humpty Dumpty back together again in Baghdad continues to operate. Any leader in Iraq installed by, supported by, or endorsed by the United States has zero credibility with Iraqis, yet over and over the United States has made the same mistake, ineptly planting the kiss of death on a succession of would-be Iraqi leaders: first Ahmad Chalabi, then Iyad Allawi, and finally Ibrahim al-Jaafari, the current prime minister.

This brings us to the visit to Iraq earlier this month by Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw. Like colonial overseers checking in on their proconsul's efforts to suppress the natives' latest rebellion, Rice and Straw visited Iraq to lend their heft to Ambassador Zalmay Khalilzad's seemingly hopeless quest to get Iraq's warring factions to agree on what Khalilzad continues to describe as a "national unity government," even though Iraq's national unity has utterly evaporated. In their imperial sojourn, Rice and Straw made it absolutely clear, in public, that the Anglo-American alliance no longer has any use for Jaafari's services and that the ruling Shi'ite alliance ought to toss him overboard and select another figure as Iraq's next prime minister. In so doing, Rice and Straw flouted whatever remains of the democratic process in Iraq, alienated virtually all

Iraqi factions, and condemned to utter failure the next prime minister of Iraq. They ensured that he will be seen as yet another American puppet and that the incoming and supposedly permanent four-year government will lack the credibility needed to halt Iraq's civil war.

That America has failed in Iraq is now clear to all but the most dense observers of the political scene. The Bush administration may still believe in the mission and its shredded "National Strategy for Victory in Iraq," announced with great fanfare last November. But this is the same administration that dismissed, rejected, or ignored warning after warning by the U.S. intelligence community that post-Saddam Iraq would be ungovernable. The Central Intelligence Agency, the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, and other agencies warned President Bush and Vice President Cheney before, during, and after the war about the likelihood of an armed resistance to the U.S. occupation and about the real possibility that Iraq would collapse into civil war and splinter into parts. In the fall of 2004, Bush famously pooh-poohed the CIA-INSR National Intelligence Estimate that warned that Iraq might slip into a civil war, calling the work of a high-powered U.S. intelligence team that spent months assembling that NIE "just a guess." Today, we do not need to guess. Since at least last summer, Iraq has been engulfed in a civil war.

Needless to say, having dismissed the CIA's warnings, the Bush administration's officials are also unwilling to believe their own eyes. "Do I think we're in a civil war at the present time? No," said Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld, even as leading Iraqis, including former Prime Minister Allawi, admit frankly that civil war has begun. Khalilzad, closer to the scene, told *Al Hayat*, a London-based Arabic newspaper, that Iraq "is bleeding and headed for civil war," but that it isn't there yet. Rumsfeld, who said that the Pentagon is war-gaming the idea of civil war in Iraq, was asked what such a conflict would look like. Said Rumsfeld, "I will say I don't think it'll look like the United States Civil War."

He's right. It looks a lot like the Iraqi civil war, which in turn looks very much like Lebanon's civil war. That conflict, which pitted Maronite Christians, Palestinians, Shi'ites, Sunnis, and Druze against each other in an ever-shifting battle of alliances, left a hundred thousand dead between 1975 and 1990. During that time, the Lebanese capital of Beirut was devastated as various factions, based in fortified hinterlands and ethnic sanctuaries, fought it out. Throughout it all, scores of ceasefires came and went, elections were held, and presidents inaugurated (and assassinated). So in Iraq, where Sunni Arabs, Shi'ite Arabs, and Sunni Kurds—themselves divided into various warring factions—are engaged in a struggle to control Baghdad, Kirkuk, and Mosul.

The issue of whether Iraq is or is not already in a state of civil war is, for the most part, sophistry. But for the sake of argument, it is possible to date the start of civil war to late in the summer of 2005. For the previous two years, Iraq was torn by a war pitting a mostly Sunni-led resistance against U.S. occupation forces. In the summer of 2005, however, the growing power and influence of Shi'ite religious paramilitary militias began to make itself felt in the actions of death squads, the creation of torture prisons, and a raft of kidnappings and assassinations aimed at Sunni religious leaders, former Ba'ath Party officials, and other supporters of the fallen Iraqi president. Since then, there is evidence that the number of Iraqis killed by Shi'ite death squads, by the secret police commandos of the Shi'ite-run Ministry of the Interior, and by militias such as Muqtada al-Sadr's Mahdi Army and the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq's Badr Brigade has far exceeded those killed by the Sunni insurgents. For all intents and purposes, by anyone's reckoning, that is a civil war—and it is ugly.

The number of those dying in that civil war is unclear, but estimates range from several hundred to more than one thousand per month. Human rights officials in Iraq, including John Pace of the UN human rights team, have declared that since last summer Iraqi hospital morgues have been tallying scores of men killed each morning. "The Baghdad morgue received 1,100 bodies in July alone, about 900 of whom bore evidence of torture or summary execution," said Pace, citing figures from last year. "That continued throughout the year and last December there were 780 bodies, including 400 having gunshot wounds or wounds as those caused by electric drills." Since the bombing of the Golden Dome mosque in Samarra in February, the pace has intensified further, with as many as 1,700 people found murdered

during the month of March alone. The dead are found bound and gagged, tortured, and shot in the head in mass graves in and around Baghdad, stuffed into abandoned vans and minibuses, or strewn in ditches.

A graphic article in the *Washington Post* recounted what morgues are doing to keep track of the steady stream of bodies: "Claiming the dead has become automated. Morgue workers directed families to a barred window in the narrow courtyard outside the main entrance. A computer screen angled to face the window flashed the contorted, staring faces of the dead: men shot in the mouth, men shot in the head, men covered with blood, men with bindings twisted around their necks."

Another sign of civil war in the emergence of a second insurgency. The first, of course, is the Sunni-led one, a resistance movement made up of former and current Iraqi Ba'athists, former Iraqi military officers and fighters from the old Republican Guard, and a coalition of tribal and Sunni religious leaders bit-

the first insurgency, have failed to notice the emergence of the second.

Khalilzad has acknowledged this second insurgency, and in a definitive interview in the *Post*, Khalilzad threw down the gauntlet against Iran and its Shi'ite allies, accusing the Iranian military and secret service of sponsoring the militias, paramilitary forces, and death squads who are wreaking havoc in Baghdad and across southern Iraq. "Our judgment is that training and supplying, direct or indirect, takes place, and that there is also provision of financial resources to people, to militias, and that there is presence of people associated with [Iran's] Revolutionary Guard and with MOIS," said Khalilzad. (The MOIS is Iran's Ministry of Intelligence and Security.) He went on to declare, accurately, that more Iraqis are being killed by the second insurgency than by the first: "More Iraqis in Baghdad are dying—if you look at the recent period of two, three weeks—from the [Shi'ite] militia attacks than from the terrorist car bombings."

THE NUMBER OF IRAQIS KILLED BY SHI'ITE DEATH SQUADS, BY THE SECRET POLICE COMMANDOS OF THE SHI'ITE-RUN MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR, AND BY MILITIAS HAS FAR EXCEEDED THOSE KILLED BY THE SUNNI INSURGENTS.

terly opposed to the U.S. occupation. That force shows no sign of weakening, killing American soldiers and Marines at a steady pace.

But now a Shi'ite insurgency has emerged—nearly full-blown and with Iranian support—to confront the occupation. Because it can draw on the majority of Iraq's population, and because it can count on lethal assistance from Tehran, it is a far more deadly threat to U.S. forces than the first insurgency. It's safe to say that most Americans, who've been paying attention to

Khalilzad's declaration capped a period of several months during which the United States has turned to confront the second insurgency. It represents a major shift by Washington, and it began late last year when U.S. forces raided the infamous torture prison in which hundreds of Sunni detainees were being held illegally, tortured with electric drills, and murdered. Since then, gradually, while continuing to battle the first insurgency, U.S. forces have engaged the Shi'ites, too. From time to time, U.S. forces have seized death squads in

action, uncovered more Shi'ite-run torture prisons, and skirmished with forces allied to Sadr's Mahdi Army, one of the Iranian-allied Shi'ite militias. Further, Khalilzad definitively broke with Iraq's interior minister, Bayan Jabr, an official with the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq, whose own militia, called the Badr Brigade, is a 20,000-strong force created and armed by Iran. The U.S. war against the Shi'ite insurgency culminated in March, when U.S. forces—alongside Kurdish militiamen—attacked a fortified Shi'ite compound in Baghdad. Since then, fighting has spread into the south, where Iranian-backed Shi'ites and the Mahdi Army are engaging British forces in and around Basra.

There is no good outcome in all this. The next Iraqi government, if it ever takes office, will merely preside over the further disintegration of the Iraqi state. All sides are preparing for war. Iraq has become a Mad Max world in which angry youths wheel around in jeeps and pickups, don ragtag militia uniforms, and set up checkpoints and roadblocks.

RICE AND STRAW SEEM TO BELIEVE THAT A NATIONAL UNITY REGIME WOULD HELP REIN IN THE FACTIONS, BUT IT CERTAINLY WOULD NOT SLOW DOWN THE SUNNI-LED INSURGENCY NOR DISSUADE IRAN FROM PURSUING ITS INTERESTS IN IRAQ.

The Shi'ite forces eye each other suspiciously and enviously, and their rivalries may yet turn to open warfare and violence among themselves. The two big Kurdish parties, the KDP and the PUK, despise each other and in the past have each warred against the other. And the Sunnis are divided, too. The Sunnis, in particular, are fast building private armies to compete with the 20,000-strong Shi'ite Badr Brigade, the Mahdi Army, and other Shi'ite militias, and with the Kurdish peshmergas. The *Los Ange-*

les Times reports that Sunnis are “stashing guns in their mosques and knitting themselves into militias of their own.” It quotes a young Sunni militant: “One little signal and you’ll see us in the streets.” Tens of thousands of Iraqis are fleeing cities and neighborhoods in which they are a minority or feel unsafe, becoming refugees in their own land.

Those who believe that Iraq can neatly partition itself into a Kurdish state in the north, a Shi'ite state in the south, and a Sunni statelet in the center are violently mistaken. They forget that one-fifth of Iraq's population lies in Baghdad and that the Iraqi capital would become a bloody carcass fought over by competing armies. “The problem is, the Sunni and Shi'ite communities of Iraq are themselves deeply divided,” wrote Kenneth Pollack, a former CIA analyst now at the Brookings Institution. “The first thing that would happen in any civil war is that they would likely fragment, and you would have severe infighting among them. Beyond that, you have enormous areas of mixed population inside Iraq, and you would probably

undergo a long process of ethnic cleansing to determine who is going to control those parts of Iraq. So if we ever did get to a situation where we had three separate statelets in Iraq, it would take some time, and probably many tens, if not hundreds of thousands of people, would die before you got to that point.”

Many of the neoconservatives, along with Rumsfeld and Cheney, who demanded the war in Iraq apparently believed in the idea that Iraq would be transformed into a peaceable kingdom

after the fall of Saddam. But at least a few fully expected the full-blown chaos that developed and didn't care. David Wurmser, one of the key architects of the war, is currently Cheney's Middle East adviser. Back in 1997, Wurmser—who, along with Richard Perle and Douglas Feith authored the “Clean Break” memorandum to then-Prime Minister Bibi Netanyahu of Israel—wrote in a paper for the same Israeli think tank that Iraq would likely fall apart if the regime were toppled. “The residual unity of the nation is an illusion projected by the extreme repression of the state,” he wrote. After Saddam, Iraq would “be ripped apart by the politics of warlords, tribes, clans, sects, and key families,” he wrote. “Underneath facades of unity enforced by state repression, [Iraq's] politics is defined primarily by tribalism, sectarianism, and gang/clan-like competition.” Yet Wurmser explicitly urged the United States and Israel to “expedite” such a collapse. “The issue here is whether the West and Israel can construct a strategy for limiting and expediting the chaotic collapse that will ensue in order to move on to the task of creating a better circumstance.”

Whether post-Saddam Iraq is indeed a “better circumstance” for most Iraqis is debatable, but the chaos that Wurmser eagerly sought is unfolding for the world to see. Rice and Straw seem to believe that a mashed-together national-unity regime would help rein in the factions, but that seems fantastical—and it certainly would not slow down the Sunni-led insurgency nor dissuade Iran from pursuing its interests in Iraq. Khalilzad, who announced plans to talk to Iran about calming the fighting in Iraq, may ask Tehran to help out the United States. But he has little to offer Iran in return—and by raising the possibility of a deal with Iran, Khalilzad has angered Iraq's Sunnis and frightened America's Arab allies—including Saudi Arabia, Jordan,

and Egypt, who fear that a U.S.-Iranian deal over Iraq might come at their expense.

Who can salvage the American project in Iraq? No one. It is Mission Impossible. The neoconservatives, loath to admit defeat, still insist on an all-out effort. Speaking on NPR's "Diane Rehm Show" in April, Tom Donnelly, a leading neocon strategist and American Enterprise Institute fellow who co-chaired the Project for a New American Century, asserted that it will take twice as many troops as the United States now has in Iraq to win, adding, "The American people want someone to show them that they know how to win this war." And Reuel Gerecht, another AEI fellow, who argued in 2003 that a shock-and-awe campaign in Iraq would speak to the Arabs in the only language they understand, calls for an unstinting campaign to seize control of the Iraqi capital. Writing in the *Wall Street Journal*, Gerecht said, "The Bush administration would be wise not to postpone any longer what it should have already undertaken—securing Baghdad. ... Pacifying Baghdad will be politically convulsive and provide horrific film footage and skyrocketing body counts. But Iraq cannot heal itself so long as Baghdad remains a deadly place."

None of that will happen. The U.S. armed forces are already stretched to the breaking point, and there is no political will in the United States to expand the war. Quite the opposite. Yet an otherworldly paralysis seems to have gripped the Bush administration. It can't escalate the war, and it stubbornly refuses to get out. ■

Robert Dreyfuss is the author of Devil's Game: How the United States Helped Unleash Fundamentalist Islam. He covers national security for Rolling Stone and writes frequently for The American Prospect, The Nation, and Mother Jones.

There are signs that the Bush administration's covert-action program against Iran is becoming both more active and more lethal.

Twenty-two Iranian government officials were killed and the local governor was severely injured in a March ambush carried out by the Iranian opposition group MEK (Mujaheddin-e Khalq) in the Iranian province of Sistan-va-Baluchistan. MEK was armed and supplied by Saddam Hussein and is on the U.S. terrorism list, but its supporters have been liberated from that potential impediment by individually renouncing the group's charter, presumably making them ex-terrorists. They have been trained by U.S. Special Forces and are now carrying out Pentagon-directed operations inside Iran, primarily consisting of intelligence-collection missions targeting suspected nuclear production facilities. The MEK, however, also has its own agenda. It supports Iran's Baluchi minority, primarily Sunni Muslims, in their increasingly violent opposition to the central government.



Meanwhile, America's half-hearted dialogue with Iran over the subject of Iraq is being hampered by Bush administration infighting.

Iraq's Ahmad Chalabi, the former Pentagon favorite, has inserted himself into the process by flying off to Tehran and returning with Iranian proposals that are being discussed in Baghdad with the administration's designated negotiator, Ambassador Zalmay Khalilzad. Vice President Cheney's office is simultaneously using the discredited Manucher Ghorbanifar of Iran-Contra fame to provide "an independent view" on what is taking place, thoroughly confusing the issue. The Iranians reportedly want to discuss overall U.S. policy towards their country and have allegedly offered a deal on their nuclear program, but Khalilzad is authorized only to discuss Iraq because Cheney opposes any dialogue that might interfere with eventual regime change in Tehran. He is also unfazed by the numerous complaints about the employment of Ghorbanifar, who is considered to be an intelligence fabricator. In any event, President Bush has made a political decision to defer any possible overt military action against Iran until after the midterm elections in November. He has, however, authorized the current covert-action program, described above, which is being conducted primarily by the American military without congressional oversight. Bush has also been restrained by recent internal intelligence estimates of the possible consequences of unilateral action against Iran, which suggest extensive damage to U.S. national and commercial interests around the world.



Sources in Rome report that Michael Ledeen is now being surveilled every time he visits Italy.

The advocate of "creative destruction," and leading American neoconservative occasionally linked to the forged Niger uranium documents used to justify war in Iraq, has a villa in the hills near Rome and frequently travels to Italy to vacation and for meetings. The surveillance is being carried out by the Italian military intelligence service, known as SISMI, acting under the instructions of the minister of defense, Nicola Pollari. That Ledeen is now regarded as suspicious and is being watched by SISMI is particularly ironic, as he collaborated with Italian military intelligence in the early 1980s, a service for which he reportedly received \$100,000. According to one source, the payment made to Ledeen was deposited in a bank in the Bahamas.

Philip Giraldi, a former CIA Officer, is a partner in Cannistraro Associates.

Big Brother Watches Britain

The rights of Englishmen make way for litres and ID cards.

By Peter Hitchens

ONE OF THE ODDEST and most eerily prophetic passages in *1984* finds Winston Smith, unwisely searching for a key to the lost past, entering a sordid alehouse in a proletarian quarter. There he sees an old man, a survivor of former times, trying to order a pint of beer, once the standard English measure. The barman either does not understand him or pretends not to do so. "What in hell's name is a pint? Litre and half-litre, that's all we serve," he says.

England, likewise, has ceased to exist, and its sophisticated currency has been replaced by the standardized decimal dollars and cents of Oceania. In *Brave New World*, the dystopia is different in almost every way, but the drug soma is prescribed in metric grams, and England has also disappeared, this time into a globalized Fordist state, governed by ten world controllers. Mass production and advertising have brought into being the borderless, godless world dreamed of by Karl Marx, in which German and French are dead languages and Trotsky a common surname.

Both Orwell and Huxley, perhaps only half-consciously, recognized that national independence is one of the most important components of liberty and that local, particular culture was an obstacle to arbitrary power. And they were quite right. Their books were until very recently read here in Britain as enjoyable fantasies of the unthinkable. We could shiver as we read them, then put them down with a happy feeling that this was what we had avoided through the luck of our geography and the good sense of our forebears. Only

some colossal, unimaginable catastrophe—Orwell talks vaguely of a nuclear surprise attack, Huxley of the Nine Years War—could connect our gentle, reasonable world with either of these howling nightmares.

Yet in the last few years there have been a number of events and developments in Britain that suggest no such cataclysm is necessary, but that James Madison was correct when he said, "There are more instances of the abridgement of the freedom of the people by gradual and silent encroachments of those in power than by violent and sudden usurpation."

There is now, for instance, an official campaign in Britain to use the law to abolish traditional English measures—hence the special eeriness of Orwell's alehouse prophecy. A market trader, Steve Thoburn, was filmed secretly by City Hall officials as he sold bananas to his customers in Sunderland, an industrial town in the north of England. They then prosecuted him because he had made the sale in pounds and ounces, rather than in kilograms and grams. There was no question of him giving short measure or of having done anything dishonest. His offense was to continue to use traditional measures, well-known to all his customers, rather than the global ones now preferred by authority. He was quite ready to sell his bananas in kilograms to anyone who asked. But they never did.

Mr. Thoburn was not exporting his bananas to a country that used the metric system, and bananas are not a medicine or a high-technology product whose precise mass might be crucial to a patient's health or an international

space project. His prosecution was part of the forcible imposition of one culture upon another, as is usually done to conquered peoples to remind them of their subjugation or to the people of a revolutionary state who need to be told firmly that there is a new order. The case was taken all the way to the European Court of Human Rights, one of two foreign supreme courts that now outrank the highest tribunals of English law, including Parliament itself. The court, which usually concerns itself with upholding the left-wing liberties of "minorities," unsurprisingly upheld the fine levied on Mr. Thoburn. It is hard to see what the law in a free country should have had to do with such a private transaction. But in an unfree country, that is what the law is for: telling people who is in charge.

Pints of beer, currently spared from this process, will sooner or later suffer the same fate, and the words "litre and half-litre, that's all we serve" will eventually be heard in the proletarian alehouses of England. Those who thought this episode was trivial were like those who do not connect clouds with rain. For in the years that have followed, it has become clear that a deep and worrying change is taking place in the laws and police forces of England.

The difficulty lies in explaining how serious it is without falling into the language of panic. So I shall simply list some developments as dispassionately as I can. We have a Civil Contingencies Act that, once an emergency has been declared, gives the government the power to cancel existing laws, to order citizens to move or to stay where they

are, in short, to act like a dictatorship. We have a succession of Terrorism Acts that give police officers enormous arbitrary authority they never had before, a power they have already begun to abuse. During a recent convention of the governing Labour Party in the seaside town of Brighton, this law was used dozens of times against people doing such dangerous things as wearing T-shirts bearing anti-government slogans. Notoriously, the police gave it as their excuse for helping to eject an elderly protestor from the convention hall after he heckled a member of the government.

Police officers in Britain have, by long tradition, sworn an oath to uphold the law and are servants of the Crown, not of the government. This means that they are legally obliged to refuse an unlawful order from a superior, technically loyal to the law but not to the state or the government of the day. Parliament has also resisted the creation of a national police force, and there has been no direct ministerial control of the police, as exists everywhere on the European continent. But late last year a new Serious and Organised Crimes Agency was created, whose officers are ordinary government servants and who are directly employed by the central state. Meanwhile, there are plans to merge the remaining local police forces into far larger units, which are only one step away from a national organization. The normal police are also being supplemented by large numbers of poorly trained Community Support Officers, as yet with limited powers of arrest, who like the grander SOCA are ordinary government servants, not sworn constables loyal to Crown and law.

While these changes proceed, the government also presses fiercely ahead with a scheme to compel all British citizens to register for identity cards. Officially, this is voluntary, but from 2008 anyone who renews a passport will be placed on the register and compelled to

have his eyeballs scanned, his fingerprints taken, and his personal details compulsorily recorded—a fate hitherto reserved mainly for convicted sexual offenders and cattle. He will then, at great personal expense, be presented with an identity card for which he has not asked, though for an unspecified period the issue of the actual card will be optional. Registration will be increasingly inescapable. In a small country where most people take holidays abroad quite frequently, this will rapidly compel millions to take part in the allegedly non-compulsory scheme. Once this has happened, general compulsion and an obligation to carry this breathing license at all times will probably follow. Challenged to justify this measure, the government has claimed in turn that it will fight crime, terrorism, and identity theft. But these arguments have been repeatedly slashed to pieces in both Houses of Parliament. There is no good evidence that such cards will achieve anything of the kind and much evidence that they will increase official interference in private lives, as well as undermining the fundamental principle of free societies—that the state must justify itself to the citizenry rather than the other way round.

Meanwhile a measure passed in 1986 in a panicky attempt to curb bad behavior at soccer matches, the Public Order Act, is increasingly being used to prosecute people whose public statements are thought by police officers to be likely to cause offense to others. In several cases, objectors to homosexual equality laws have been prosecuted or threatened, in one case after a broadcaster on the BBC voiced criticisms of laws allowing homosexual couples to adopt children. Even Tony Blair has been investigated over published allegations that he was once rude about the people of Wales in an entirely private context.

Other measures include a law allowing terrorist suspects to be detained for

28 days without charge, a straightforward breach of Magna Carta. This revolting change is a probably what the government always intended when it asked Parliament for a 90-day detention law. Yet Charles Clarke, the home secretary, whose cozy title conceals a would-be minister of the interior, publicly continues to press for 90 days and recently said that he preferred the continental system of justice to the Anglo-American model. No wonder. The only surprise is that he does not prefer the old Soviet system. It has been clear for years that the leaders of both our major parties find jury trial and the presumption of innocence highly inconvenient. The accused man's right to silence was dispensed with some years ago, and the protections against being tried twice on the same charge have been fatally weakened. Should you wish for more to alarm you, then anyone with access to the Web may study the Legislative and Regulatory Reform Bill, whose jaw-crackingly dull title conceals an astonishing plan to allow government to bypass Parliament altogether and to make and change many laws at will, without even the excuse of an emergency.

Most British citizens assume that liberty grows wild in their country and needs neither cultivation nor protection, and they are unmoved by these events because they think that tyranny cannot happen here. Perhaps they are right, but if a tyranny does arise here, it will find all the weapons it needs conveniently to hand, sharpened, polished, and oiled. As our overstretched, under-equipped soldiers pursue the mirages of freedom and democracy in Iraq, real liberty and law go undefended in the nation where they first saw the light. ■

Peter Hitchens is a columnist for the London Mail on Sunday and his blog can be visited at <http://hitchensblog.mailonsunday.co.uk/>

The Old College Try

A small evangelical college fights to save itself—and to steel its students for the secular marketplace.

By Peter Wood

ONE BRISK JANUARY evening, seven or eight faculty members and staff from my college met in the lobby of the Empire State Building and walked over to Bryant Park. The park, which lies just behind the New York Public Library, was outfitted this winter with a temporary ice-skating rink. Some skaters glided serenely around the oval; others wormed their way through the bladerunner traffic as though they were taxi drivers on Fifth Avenue. I was among the wobbly neophytes, happy just to stay upright without holding onto the rails.

My more adept colleagues—a professor of business, lately from Citibank, and the college's registrar were particularly at ease slipping around the rink. My Albanian assistant came with her family and gave her five-year old daughter, Njomeza, her first skating lesson.

If you imagine this small company turning, turning, not in a widening gyre but in the crowded white oval in Bryant Park, with the New York Public Library looming and the Empire State Building exclaiming itself in the zenith, you'll have a reasonably good sense of my pleasure at my new job. For I've gone and done one of those profoundly inexplicable things that middle-aged men sometimes do. I resigned from a perfectly good and very secure job in favor of a wild venture on the ice.

In my case, last year I gave up a tenured position in anthropology at a big research university to become provost

of what amounts to a start-up college with no endowment and pretty daunting prospects. Even more to the point, I left the entirely respectable world of a secular university for what some would call the fever swamps of an evangelical college. I don't know that I am the first to make this Magellanic voyage, but having crossed some uncharted seas, I feel bound to report.

American higher education, of course, is a something-for-everybody affair. Among its 4,168 colleges and universities, students can seek out whatever fits, from size XXL to toddler; from whoop-it-up party schools to Gradgrind academies; and from beleafed Arcadias to mean-street urban fortresses. Within this Macy's of educational alternatives, I now speak for the equivalent of the shoelace section. Ah, but once I haberdashed acres of pricey pre-torn jeans.

The university where I spent more than two decades is Boston University (BU), and the little college where I now work is The King's College (TKC). Oddly, the names of both invite a certain amount of confusion. Boston University is perpetually confused with its Jesuit neighbor up Commonwealth Avenue, Boston College. BU is the one that stretches like a crumpled eel along the banks of the Charles River across from MIT. It doesn't have a football team, and it was founded long ago by Methodists who felt excluded from the elite colleges of the day.

The King's College sounds like it might be at Oxford or Cambridge (which has its own King's College), and it happens to be the name by which Columbia University was called before the American Revolution. This King's College, however, is not enamored with George III. Different king. It's a Christian thing.

That hasn't gone down especially well in New York. In January 2005, John Brademas, the retired president of New York University and currently a member of the New York State Board of Regents, got in a lather about the current King's College usurping the name of Columbia University and—sneaky Christians, you know—setting out to decoy unwary students. Brademas, dear old fellow, hadn't a clue. The current King's College started up in 1938 and had been operating in New York for nearly 50 years under the watchful eye of the Regents and with never a peep from the quondam royalists at Morningside Heights.

Brademas's scattershot accusation was my first real introduction to what working for a "Red-State college" in the midst of New York City would be like. It wasn't a battle that I expected or welcomed. I had just decided to part ways with BU, a university renowned for its former president John Silber's ferocious fights with campus radicals, a faculty union, the *Boston Globe*, and anyone else who happened to be standing around. I had spent a long time in the

midst of Silber controversies, Silber irascibility, and Silber wrath. But throughout this, I admired the theory of John Silber: a university president who stood for genuine academic standards and intellectual freedom, who spoke his well-educated mind, and who disdained the leftist ideologies that had come to dominate American higher education since the 1960s.

Silber stepped down as president in 1996 but was named chancellor. His era well and truly came to an end in 2004, when the BU Board shuffled him aside and the acting president appointed in his stead began systematically to dismantle Silber's legacy. There is no cheerful way I can write about the final curtain falling on that scene, so I'll just let the curtain fall and head for the coat-check. For a time there in the 1980s and '90s, however, BU was the most prominent holdout among major American universities from the Left's settled control of higher education. And I was proud to be part of it.

Moving to King's meant trading a large university for a small college, an established institution for a start-up, and a secular enterprise for an evangelical one. More subtly, the effect was atmospheric. BU is a tough-minded place in which people go their own ways. It has a veneer of community, but little sense of common identity. It's a university of sharp elbows and big egos. It also has a fair number of students who, though bright, have little sense of direction. Those students are in college because college is where you go when you are 18 to 21 years old and your parents can afford it. TKC, by contrast, is a magnet for a very ambitious sort of self-consciously Christian student who loves the intense focus of the curriculum and who thrives on the tight-knit face-to-face community. That King's College is located entirely inside the Empire State Building mysteriously adds to the sense that this little academic community is a

world apart. TKC students grumble and complain as much as anyone else, but what they grumble and complain about is distinctive. The students at King's want closer outside-the-classroom ties to faculty members, more attention to spiritual life, and a warmer, more generous academic style.

Complaints are always revealing. In this case, the students are, in effect, asking for more of what they already have. If I could ship off a contingent of TKC students to BU for a week, they would probably be amazed at how little connection students feel to their university, how remote their lives are from their professors, and how transactional the whole business is. That's not a swipe at BU. This is the normal state of affairs in American universities, public and private, where a student can indeed get to know his teachers, but only if he works hard at it. Faculty members (at least those with honorable motives) seldom spend their free time seeking the company of students.

MOVING TO KING'S MEANT TRADING A LARGE UNIVERSITY FOR A SMALL COLLEGE, AN ESTABLISHED INSTITUTION FOR A START-UP, AND A SECULAR ENTERPRISE FOR AN EVANGELICAL ONE.

The small and small-ish liberal arts colleges, of course, are different. In those environments, professors often become a very significant presence in the lives of students. A student may well take several courses from the same professor over a period of years—years that are particularly intense and fruitful in the life of the student. I look back on my own undergraduate education, at Haverford College, in this way. To be clear, that epoch of intense development isn't always joyful at the time. Haverford during the waning days of the Vietnam War was suffocating in its left-wing

piety, college-president-led protest marches, and creepy gestures such as days during which the dining hall served "famine meals" to send the supposed savings to Africa. Four years of this turned me into a political conservative. But at the same time, Haverford faculty members introduced me to a serious, adult, and complexly intellectual world that I had never before glimpsed.

Today that experience some 30 years ago is much on my mind—more so than my much longer and more recent time at BU. That's because TKC students, like Haverfordians, belong in the camp of what William James called the "tender-minded" and are quite the opposite of their tough-minded BU counterparts. When a homeless man slipped past Empire State Building security recently and found his way into The King's College library, a couple of students enterprisingly took him out for coffee. Absent the Christian ministry that the TKC students threw in gratis, that's exactly what Haverfordians would have done.

The same sort of thing applies in relations among students. The informal motto at BU was "Be You!" i.e. just be yourself; we accept you as you are. Of course, behind the chipper relativism, BU students found plenty of room for snobbery and social distinctions. Superficial acceptance of others and cliquishness are fairly easily combined, provided people mind their own business. At The King's College, by contrast, students seem very mindful of each other. And because the curriculum is mostly a "core," with most of the students taking the same classes in the same sequence,

they know each other's views, opinions, and intellectual styles as familiarly as the village elders might in a 19th-century New England town.

BU students would find that claustrophobic, but TKC students somehow find it energizing. Instead of creating an atmosphere of stultifying conformity, it has acquired a playful quality. Last night I noticed a blackboard in the student lounge covered with anonymous bits of poetry. A graduating senior standing nearby read off the lines guessing which student wrote which. The same easy intimacy extends across the college. The students know not only who the good chess players are but can describe their styles of play. When I ask a question in class, heads swivel toward whatever student they know is most likely to know the answer to that one. In this world, if someone is determined to do something, he declares, "I have a heart for it." That speaks passion and determination, but it doesn't mean, "Get out of my way."

TENDER-MINDEDNESS SITS UNEASILY ALONGSIDE THE GOAL OF PREPARING STUDENTS FOR THE COMPETITION OF THE SECULAR WORLD. KING'S STUDENTS HAVE ONLY A LIMITED SENSE OF HOW TOUGH THE REAL WORLD WILL BE.

The tender-mindedness, however, sits uneasily alongside the college's goal of preparing students for the unbending competition of the secular world. King's students know that's why they are here, but most of them have only a limited sense of how tough the real-world competition will be and what additional obstacles they will face because they are evangelicals. Theoretically they get it, but most of these students have grown up in families and communities where they have been surrounded by people of good faith. The secular world often seems *terra incognita* to them, though

they have seen plenty of it on TV and in the movies. They are quick with mainstream cultural references, but they sometimes remind me of my Albanian assistant who grew up watching pirated American TV shows and can reference old episodes of "Bonanza" as easily as street names in Tirana. She refers to one self-important state bureaucrat as "Little Joe." Seeing American TV, however, doesn't prepare you all that much for Wall Street, big media, or corporate law.

Moreover, the evangelical world in which these students were raised isn't known for pushing hard on intellectual rigor. Keeping true to the faith, reading the Bible every day, and treating others with heartfelt sincerity count a lot more in these communities than sharp elbows and a manic work style. And evangelicals tend to be forgiving when it comes to things like crisp writing, precise diction, and an agile grasp of political theory. I would just as soon that TKC students keep their elbows at their sides and get a good night's sleep after a hard

day's work, but I do expect them to develop an ethic of unrelenting excellence in their writing, speaking, and analysis. That's the only way they will succeed in the elite institutions that they aspire to join.

This is to say that some of the stereotypes of evangelicals have warrant. The evangelical tradition tends to produce preachers, not thinkers. But, of course, that is partly because the intellectually talented sons and daughters of evangelical families often end up getting the treatment Tom Wolfe described in *I Am Charlotte Simmons*. They go off to the

secular university where they learn sophisticated contempt for the traditions in which they were brought up; or they go to the local Bible college that protects their faith but doesn't prepare them to win their way in the larger world. Evangelicals are not altogether happy about this choice, and The King's College is one of their responses. The college is meant to offer the children of evangelical families an intellectually rigorous program that is faith-sustaining.

This isn't easy for many of the students. They have to learn that saying "I believe that abortion is wrong" is not an argument and that expressions of sincerity will not win the battles that lie ahead. TKC students sooner or later wake up to the plain and unforgiving difficulty of making a good policy point, and when they see all the ditches and walls ahead of them, they can get discouraged. I still hear a lot of cries for more community and more reassurance.

This is pretty new to me. Boston University students prided themselves on their clear-eyed, sometimes cynical, grasp of how the world really works. If they got discouraged, they seldom admitted it, and those who yearned for a tighter community were lonely souls among a throng of independent self-starters.

In moving to King's, I expected an opportunity to engage in the constructive work of shaping a curriculum and building a faculty without the constant interruptions of controversy. On this I was mistaken. I hadn't counted on just how much New York state was going to trouble itself over the existence of a college like King's. The deeper problem appears to be that King's deliberately planted itself as a thorn in the paw of the beast. Its president and guiding spirit, Stan Oakes, brought the quiet old King's College out of bankruptcy, where it had landed in 1994 as the result of a badly executed real-estate deal. Instead of keeping King's out on its scenic bluff

Black Listed Cancer Treatment Could Save Your Life

Baltimore, MD— As unbelievable as it seems the key to stopping many cancers has been around for over 30 years. Yet it has been banned. Blocked. And kept out of your medicine cabinet by the very agency designed to protect your health—the FDA.

In 1966, the senior oncologist at a prominent New York hospital rocked the medical world when he developed a serum that **“shrank cancer tumors in 45 minutes!”** 90 minutes later they were gone... Headlines hit every major paper around the world. Scientists and researchers applauded. Time and again this life saving treatment worked miracles, but the FDA ignored the research and hope he brought and shut him down.

You read that right. He was not only shut down—but also forced out of the country where others benefited from his discovery. That was 39 years ago. How many other treatments have they been allowed to hide? Just as in the case of Dr. Burton’s miracle serum these too go unmentioned.

Two-Nutrient Cancer Breakthrough...

Decades ago, European research scientist Dr. Johanna Budwig, a six-time Nobel Award nominee, discovered a totally natural formula that not only protects against the development of cancer, but people all over the world who have been diagnosed with incurable cancer and sent home to die have actually benefited from her research—and now lead normal lives.

After 30 years of study, Dr. Budwig discovered that the blood of seriously ill cancer patients was deficient in certain substances and nutrients. Yet, healthy blood always contained these ingredients. It was the lack of these nutrients that allowed cancer cells to grow wild and out of control.

By simply eating a combination of two natural and delicious foods (found on page 134) not only can cancer be prevented—but in case after case it was actually healed! “Symptoms of cancer, liver dysfunction, and diabetes were completely alleviated.” Remarkably, what Dr. Budwig discovered was a totally natural way for eradicating cancer.

However, when she went to publish these results so that everyone could benefit—**she was blocked by manufacturers with heavy financial stakes!** For over 10 years now her methods have proved effective—yet she is denied publication—blocked by the giants who don’t want you to read her words.

What’s more, the world is full of expert minds like Dr. Budwig who have pursued cancer remedies and come up with remarkable natural formulas and diets that work for hundreds and thousands of patients. *How to Fight Cancer & Win* author William Fischer has studied these methods and revealed their

secrets for you—so that you or someone you love may be spared the horrors of conventional cancer treatments.

As early as 1947, Virginia Livingston, M.D., isolated a cancer-causing microbe. She noted that every cancer sample analyzed (whether human or other animal) contained it.

This microbe—a bacteria that is actually in each of us from birth to death—multiplies and promotes cancer when the immune system is weakened by disease, stress, or poor nutrition. Worst of all, the microbes secrete a special hormone protector that short-circuits our body’s immune system—allowing the microbes to grow undetected for years. No wonder so many patients are riddled with cancer by the time it is detected. But there is hope even for them...

Six-time Nobel Nominee’s Two-Nutrient Cancer Breakthrough Revealed

Turn to page 82 of *How to Fight Cancer & Win* for the delicious diet that can help stop the formation of cancer cells and shrink tumors.

They walked away from traditional cancer treatments...and were healed! Throughout the pages of *How to Fight Cancer & Win* you’ll meet real people who were diagnosed with cancer—suffered through harsh conventional treatments—turned their backs on so called modern medicine—only to be miraculously healed by natural means! Here is just a sampling of what others have to say about the book.

“We purchased *How to Fight Cancer & Win*, and immediately my husband started following the recommended diet for his just diagnosed colon cancer. He refused the surgery that our doctors advised. Since following the regime recommended in the book he has had no problems at all, cancer-wise. If not cured, we believe the cancer has to be in remission.”

—Thelma B.

“I bought *How to Fight Cancer & Win* and this has to be the greatest book I’ve ever read. I have had astounding results from the easy to understand knowledge found in this book. My whole life has improved drastically and I have done so much for many others. The information goes far beyond the health thinking of today.”

—Hugh M.

“I can’t find adequate words to describe my appreciation of your work in providing *How to Fight Cancer & Win*. You had to do an enormous amount of research to bring this vast and most important knowledge to your readers.

My doctor found two tumors on my prostate with a high P.S.A. He scheduled a time to surgically remove the prostate, but I canceled the appointment. Instead I went on the diet discussed in the book combined with another supplement. Over the months my P.S.A. has lowered until the last reading was one point two.”

—Duncan M.

“In my 55 years as a Country Family Physician, I have never read a more ‘down to earth,’ practical resume of cancer prevention and treatments, than in this book. It needs to be studied worldwide for the prevention of cancer by all researchers who are looking for a cure.”

—Edward S., M.D.

“As a cancer patient who has been battling lymphatic cancer on and off for almost three years now, I was very pleased to stumble across *How to Fight Cancer & Win*. The book was inspiring, well-written and packed with useful information for any cancer patient looking to maximize his or her chances for recovery.”

—Romany S.

“I’ve been incorporating Dr. Budwig’s natural remedy into my diet and have told others about it. Your book is very informative and has information I’ve never heard about before (and I’ve read many books on the cancer and nutrition link). Thanks for the wonderful information.”

—Molly G.

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overlooking the Hudson 30 miles north of New York City, he moved it into the Empire State Building. That move broke what I now see as a tacit understanding. Protestant evangelical colleges belong upstate—or better yet, out of state, somewhere in the vicinity of large belt buckles and lowing livestock.

And, for the most part, evangelical colleges keep the bargain. They reside in little towns and rural outposts, glad to be away from the pathologies and temptations of urban life. Oakes stumbled a bit in trying to put his new urban version of an evangelical college in place. What kind of program should it have? And what kind of students? But by 2005, he had figured out what he wanted. King's would aspire to be the place that would launch the intellectually promising sons and daughters of evangelical families into careers in what he calls the nation's "strategic institutions."

Some New Yorkers seem to think this is a hostile takeover plan. And Oakes can, on occasion, pitch right to these skittish Blue Staters, who imagine that every churchgoer is a theocrat in disguise. John Brademas was simply the first of these Blue State worry-crats to get the idea that King's was up to something a little out of the ordinary for evangelicals. When a routine bunch of paperwork came to the Board of Regents in January 2005, his aged umbrage limbered up. He not only accused the College of purloining its name from Columbia University but of "stealing" its interdisciplinary politics, philosophy, and economics program from his *alma mater*, Oxford University. Once he got going, he peppered a hapless and rather dim state bureaucrat with questions about the college's finances. That guy didn't know some things and made up others on the spot, and—boom—The King's College was suddenly in a fight for its life. The Regents deferred consideration of its New York state accredita-

tion. The New York State Department of Education descended into bureaucratic panic. And John Brademas found himself a new plaything.

What exactly was Brademas up to? He insists, of course, he was doing his fiduciary duty. But the New York State Board of Regents oversees hundreds of colleges, quite a few of which are innocent of any genuine intellectual ambition. Why single out a college with a rigorous curriculum, tough admissions standards, and a record completely clean of infractions, financial or otherwise, for extraordinary scrutiny?

Stan Oakes and the trustees of The King's College initially responded to Brademas's attack by what they called "Christian witness." They prayed, engaged in introspection, and made a heartfelt effort to reach out to Brademas. But in my view Brademas didn't look like someone about to climb down from the

toward the sort of folk who once supported the Moral Majority, i.e. evangelical Christians.

I read his publications in search of some clue about his seemingly gratuitous attack on the college. On the page he emerged as the kind of writer who thunders with moral conviction by way of delivering carefully triangulated nothingness. He was against bad behavior and in favor of good behavior. He liked tolerance, but not too much tolerance. Just the right amount. In other words, he was the sort of person steeped in evasion and equivocation. A bunch of evangelicals committed to sincerity and convinced that they could speak to him heart-to-heart were likely merely to get a lesson in duplicity.

After a month of trying and failing to reach Brademas by phone, Oakes made a trip to Albany to catch Brademas at a public meeting. Brademas assured him

KING'S COLLEGE WOULD ASPIRE TO BE THE PLACE THAT WOULD LAUNCH THE INTELLECTUALLY PROMISING SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF EVANGELICAL FAMILIES INTO CAREERS IN WHAT OAKES CALLS THE NATION'S "STRATEGIC INSTITUTIONS."

lofty crag on which he had positioned himself. Brademas had served in the U.S. House as representative from Indiana for about 20 years when he was swept out of office in the Reagan landslide of 1980. Part of the campaign against him was mounted by the newly formed Moral Majority, which had waxed wroth over the National Endowment for the Arts' funding for various scandalous stick-it-to-the-bourgeoisie displays. Brademas had co-sponsored the legislation creating the national endowments, considered them his proudest achievement, and defended their decisions. Shortly after losing his office, he was appointed president of NYU. There was at least reason to suspect that he had ill feelings

that he was going to drop his objections to the college at the next Regents' meeting in March. Brademas told much the same to a reporter as well. When the March meeting came, Brademas not only repeated his earlier accusations but added a few more for good measure. Quickly the Regents moved to deny King's its accreditation—in effect, shutting the college down with no public hearing, no debate, no evidence—nothing but Brademas's wild accusations.

The story gets intricate from this point and I need not tell it all. The Regents on second thought decided it would play better to give the college a year than to kill it outright. The King's College then realized it had just been given a death

sentence and went to work to draw public attention to the matter. By July, the Regents agreed to restore the college's full accreditation. We continue, however, to suffer aftershocks. That hapless educator who bumbled at the beginning of the crisis grew miffed that we charted our own way out of it. He launched his own death-by-a-thousand-cuts campaign of procedural harassment. He won't win, but it's revealing that the state bureaucracy lets him try. I doubt that NYU or Columbia gets such treatment.

The King's College as a whole seems unperturbed by the rude welcome. The college operates on a thin budget and faces a long list of challenges, but the prevailing attitude is calm. Compared to the maelstrom of Boston University, King's is almost an island of serenity. But I don't want to overstate. Islands of serenity may be next to smoldering volcanoes and shark-infested waters, and one never knows when the cannibals will drop by. So consider King's serene, but wary, and ready to fight a Don't-Tread-On-Me war if it has to.

I've seen some of these students and their teachers skating smoothly on one thin blade through the knots of take-no-guff New Yorkers in Bryant Park. I may never skate as well, but I am pretty sure that I made the right move in coming here. I'm something of a battle-hardened contrarian, which is what The King's College needs as it navigates some of the political and cultural obstacles before it. And for my part, I am enjoying an intellectual freedom and a sense of community that I missed without ever realizing during those years in Boston. ■

Peter Wood is provost of The King's College and the author of A Bee in the Mouth: Anger in America Now, which will be published by Encounter Books in October; and Diversity: The Invention of a Concept.

Why Trade Deficits Matter

While Americans keep trooping to the malls, the charges against our account keep rising.

By Robert Locke

AMERICA'S TRADE DEFICIT is a considerable problem, but it is a subject open to deliberate confusion by those who wish to ignore it, simply because most people don't understand what it is or why it matters—even though they intuitively sense that something is wrong when we have one. So it is worth thinking through some fundamentals:

1. Nations engage in trade with one another. Americans sell people of other nations goods and buy goods from them.
2. We don't get goods for free, so when we buy goods from foreign nations, we have to give them something in return.
3. There are only three things we can give them: A.) goods we produce today, B.) goods we produced in the past, or C.) goods we promise to produce in the future. Other nations won't give us their goods if we don't do one of these things. Why should they?
4. Here's what #3 really means: A is when they sell us Sony televisions and we sell them jumbo jets; B is when they sell us Sony televisions and we sell them office buildings in New York; C is when they sell us Sony televisions and we go into debt to them to get the money to pay them.

In case you haven't guessed already, B and C are what happen when we have a trade deficit. When we cannot cover the cost of our imports with the value of our

exports, we have to make up the gap with something else that has value to our foreign trading partners. Borrowed money will do. So will a share of our existing assets.

So why are B and C a problem? Because they're unsustainable. In case B, we have only so many existing assets we can sell off to foreigners. In case C, we can only pile up so much debt before we can't afford to meet the interest payments.

On the other hand, in case A, we can go on producing goods and exchanging them for whatever we want from abroad indefinitely. That's why it's good to be a nation with strong exports, like Germany or Japan. Not only can they obtain anything they want that foreigners have to sell, they can count on doing so as long as they remain strong exporters.

Moreover, B and C destroy American jobs. In case A, when we were selling jumbo jets in return, we had to employ people to produce these jets, and we could afford to do so because the foreign sale brought in money to pay the workers. But in case B, the office building has already been produced, so no jobs today are created by selling it to some foreigner. The foreigner is just as happy to become the proud owner of a \$500 million office building in New York as he would have been to get \$500 million in jumbo jets, but we don't get any jobs out of it. We're cannibalizing our past production of goods to pay for present consumption, and we have 200 years of American wealth accumulation to live off.

In case C, while it is true that jobs will have to be created to produce goods at some time in the future to pay back the debt, these are jobs whose wages must be paid by us, not by foreigners, as the foreigners already gave us the goods, back when we bought from them on credit. They don't owe us anything. So in essence, we must produce goods without getting paid. This is what it means to work off a debt, be it individual or aggregate to the American economy.

WE ARE ENJOYING HIGHER CONSUMPTION LEVELS IN THE PRESENT AT THE PRICE OF BECOMING INDEBTED AND OF SELLING OFF ACCUMULATED ASSETS.

This is what heavily indebted Third World countries, laboring under debts piled up by past dictators, are always complaining about. This is why the far Left thinks international debts are a new form of colonialism, designed to extract labor from the Third World without the bother of running an old-fashioned empire, and why they hate the International Monetary Fund, which administers a lot of these debts.

Because cases B and C are happening, America is gradually being sold off to foreign owners and sinking into debt to foreigners. We own less and owe more, both of which reduce our future wealth and standard of living.

The fact that this may be a free-market outcome does not legitimize it, *pace laissez-faire* ideologues. Free markets contain both rich and poor people, winners and losers, people who own huge assets and people burdened by huge debts. The free market does not guarantee Americans a place among the former.

Principles 1-4 are basic facts. Now add three minor wrinkles that don't change the logic, but make our analysis a little more precise:

5. Money is the medium by which trade is carried out, but because money is only valuable because one can buy goods with it, we can ignore money as such and just analyze trade in terms of the flow of goods. The most interesting thing about money here is inflation, which means we will pay off our dollar-denominated debts with money that buys fewer goods than it did when the debt was contracted.

6. "Goods" are anything that's worth money, including services. The financial services provided by Citibank are goods. Hollywood movies, tourist visits to America, and a lot of other odd things also count as goods. All that matters is that foreigners are willing to pay us for them.

7. "Office buildings" above actually means any existing asset. It can mean shares in corporations. It can mean patents. It can mean a bank in Japan buying part of a bank or a shopping center. It can mean a German businessman buying a house in Boston. It doesn't matter, so long as it used to belong to some American and now belongs to some foreigner.

These seven principles are inescapable. All the sophisticated complications of modern trade, finance, and economics cannot change them. They can only introduce a lot of wrinkles that appear to change them, a fact taken advantage of by free-trade ideologues who want to convince us that our trade deficit doesn't matter. But their arguments are easy to cut through if one

reduces them to a basic question: when foreigners give us goods, what are we giving in return?

The answer is always goods we produced today, goods we produced yesterday, or goods we promise to produce tomorrow—unless, of course, a miracle has occurred, and we've established trading relations with Santa Claus and are getting things for free.

Every year, we consume more than we produce—about \$800 billion, 6 percent of GNP, and rising—and make up the difference by borrowing and selling off existing assets. We are, in other words, living beyond our means. We are enjoying higher consumption levels in the present at the price of becoming indebted and of selling off accumulated assets. Our worst-case scenario? Argentina. We end up devoting a huge share of our GNP to servicing past debts and get no profit from our best productive assets because we sold them off to foreigners years ago.

Does the Bush administration care about this problem, which is obviously a slow form of national decline, albeit a conveniently concealed one? Of course not. They're happy to maintain short-term consumption levels because they keep the electorate pacified with a veneer of prosperity. They're also willing to see American assets sold off to foreigners because as globalists they want to undermine our economic independence and "integrate" us into the global economy. And they don't care about debts that will have to be paid back years after they've left office. And if their spinmeisters in the business press and elsewhere can invent non-existent complexities, designed to make us think the problem doesn't exist because of the magic of modern finance, so much the better. ■

Robert Locke writes from New York City.

Grand Coalition

The Left and Right can—and should—join together against military adventurism.

By Neil Clark

“WHAT IS LACKING TODAY is a permanent, populist, broad-based political force to challenge the worldview of the serial globalizers and the advocates of endless war. The Peace Party can be that force. The global crisis we face today makes the old Left-Right arguments over public ownership and tax rates irrelevant. Let’s have those debates later, but first let’s get rid of those who threaten us with Armageddon.”

In March 2003, on the eve of the war against Iraq, I wrote in these pages of the urgent need for a permanent Left-Right alliance to challenge the dominance of the warmongers who have gained control of the government and opposition parties on both sides of the Atlantic.

The response to my article, an Anglicized version of which later appeared in the British left-wing weekly *The New Statesman*, took me completely by surprise. I was inundated with e-mails and letters of support and questions as to how such an alliance could be brought about.

The idea for a new Left-Right Peace Party first came to me after attending the big antiwar demonstration in London in September 2002 and then reading an article by Stuart Reid in the *Guardian* six weeks later. Reid, deputy editor of the London *Spectator*, occasional contributor to *The American Conservative*, and self-confessed hardcore paleoconservative, wrote of “feeling a little unloved” after attending the largest antiwar demonstration in Britain’s history. “The organisers boasted that the event had attracted men and women from all walks of life,” he wrote, “teachers, social workers, trade unionists, students and mem-

bers of the Muslim community. There was no suggestion that among the 400,000 or so who turned up there were also soldiers, lawyers, civil servants, gentlemen farmers, quantity surveyors, bookie’s runners, sub postmistresses, self-employed plumbers, or—heaven forbid—Telegraph Group journalists. As far as the organisers were concerned, this was a respectable leftwing gig.” Having marched alongside Stuart Reid and other antiwar conservatives that day, I knew exactly what he meant. It really did seem as if the march’s organizers had been taken by surprise at just how widespread opposition to the war in Iraq was.

Attending the march convinced me that we were witnessing the first, unofficial steps towards a political realignment: the emergence of a cross-party new peace movement, which consisted not just of the usual suspects but of true-blue conservatives and establishment figures too. But how could we make the alliance a reality?

After hours of discussions with like-minded friends from across the political spectrum, a Regime Change UK Conference was organized for May 2003. The conference’s aim was “to unite all those who challenge the world view of the advocates of endless war” and to “discuss ways of achieving democratic, meaningful regime change in the UK.” Over 200 invitations were sent out, but getting prominent antiwar figures from both Left and Right to sign up to our draft declaration did not prove easy. The *Times* columnist and former Conservative MP Matthew Parris wrote to say that although he was interested in our

plan, he didn’t sign joint declarations; Tariq Ali and Harold Pinter both failed to respond. Campaigning journalist John Pilger sent us his best wishes but unfortunately could not attend, as he was out of the country filming, while military historian Correlli Barnett also sent us a generous message of support.

In the end, though fewer than 50 people attended the London conference, it still proved a stimulating event. Among the speakers, veteran peace campaigner Dr. James Thring talked of the illegal nature of the war in Iraq; William Spring, of Christians Against NATO Aggression, spoke on the way both Blair and Bush had misappropriated the Christian message; Adolfo Olavechea, a London-based human-rights activist addressed the need to attract the support of the Britain’s traditional conservative establishment; I spoke of the challenge of countering the disproportionate influence of the war lobby in the British and American media.

We went away in high spirits: at least a start of some sorts had been made. Our spirits rose even higher when we saw that the idea for a new realignment seemed to be gaining support on both sides of the Atlantic. “Those who want to save the country, whatever party they are now trapped in, should begin, now, to consider the formation of a new movement that will give voice to the millions who look from one corner of the House of Commons to another, but can see hardly anyone who understands their fears or knows their needs,” declared Peter Hitchens, the authentic voice of British conservatism, in the *Mail on Sunday* one month later.

Across the pond, websites like Antiwar.com and Counterpunch were also starting to sing from the same hymn sheet. "A few principled leftists realize that they need to broaden the appeal of the movement to oppose the war and that the only reliable allies they can hope for come from the anti-interventionist Right," argued Antiwar's Justin Raimondo. "If the left can ever reach out to this [populist, antiwar] right, we'll have something," was the view of Counterpunch's Alexander Cockburn.

The move towards a historic Left-Right realignment, though gathering momentum in cyberspace, was still not reflected in the official antiwar movement. In Britain, Stop the War had done a tremendous job in getting the people on the streets in the two big pre-war demonstrations but under the influence of groups such as the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party seemed reluctant to take the next logical step. The Respect Party, founded by renegade left-wing politician George Galloway in 2004 after his expulsion from the Labour Party also failed to achieve a breakthrough. Instead of pitching his appeal as widely as possible to transcend class, race, and political affiliation, Galloway went for the Muslim inner city—a strategy that provided him with a seat in Parliament at the last general election and a launch pad for a lucrative media career but that failed to make Messrs. Perle, Frum, and Feith lose too much sleep. Last year, though, there were encouraging signs that Stop the War was beginning to grasp the need for a radical departure. The group's chairman, Andrew Murray, wrote to me to ask if I would be able to help find conservative speakers for the antiwar rally planned for that September.

Only bad luck prevented us from pulling it off. Former Defence Minister Lord Ian Gilmour injured his back and was unable to take part; Dr. John Laugh-

land, a regular contributor to these pages, was away on his honeymoon; and Peter Hitchens, although in principle in favor of a new realignment, had reservations about the pro-multicultural nature of the event and its attempt to link the antiwar struggle with the issue of Palestine.

Also in 2005, there was an exciting new development in Boston: the formation of the Anti-War League, with its mission "to mobilize opponents from every corner of the political spectrum against the plans of our Republican rulers for perpetual war." The league, under its energetic organizer Doug Fuda, has plans to set up chapters across America and campaigns not just for the return of U.S. troops from Iraq but for the dismantling of what it calls the "highly centralized war-making power of the federal government." Of similar mind, San Francisco's Stephen Pender, writing in Antiwar.com, argued that the Anti-Imperialist League, which formed in opposition to the U.S. aggression against the Philippines in 1898, could be the blueprint for a new cross-party antiwar movement. "One can begin to see the outlines of a movement in which ordinary persons of conscience from left, center, and right can coalesce around specific issues against the neocons," he wrote.

As we pass the third anniversary of the invasion of Iraq, it is time to bring all these new, positive approaches and ideas, under the umbrella of one transatlantic organization. In time, the group can extend to other countries and become a truly international antiwar movement, but first and foremost the most pressing task is to reclaim our own democracies as it is our governments, not those of Belgium, Bolivia, or Thailand, that pose the greatest threats to peace. This Peace Party would not be a party in the traditional sense of the term—it would not put candidates forward for public office—but a high-profile pressure group where all opponents

of war would feel at home, regardless of their views on abortion, public ownership, smoking in public places, or capital punishment. Affiliated organizations would be able to keep their own identities and individual programs but would agree to co-operate on a mutually agreed set of common principles.

The principles would, I suggest, be the following: the rejection of all forms of imperialism, whether they fly under a military, financial, or human-rights banner; opposition to the international rule of money power and global corporate governance; support for the rule of international law, national sovereignty, and the principles of the U.N. Charter; opposition to the War Party's attempts to curtail our age-old civil liberties under the pretext of the war on terror; and last, but certainly not least, rejection of war as a method of solving international disputes. For anyone who agreed with most of these points—whether a disciple of Ayn Rand or Karl Marx, Russell Kirk or Tony Benn, Jesus Christ or Mahatma Gandhi, the Dali Lama or Lew Rockwell—the Peace Party would be a home.

"A Left-Right alliance of viscerally antiwar liberals and nationalist America First conservatives will naturally evolve over time as the horrible consequences of this war come home to roost: they will find themselves moving ineluctably toward one another, in program if not in spirit. The only problem is that, by that time, it will be too late," predicted Justin Raimondo in 2003. Of course, it would have been better if an antiwar Left-Right alliance had been forged a long time ago. But with those who planned the disastrous invasion of Iraq, now clamoring for what would be an even more calamitous military confrontation with its more powerful neighbor, it's still not too late for us to make a difference. ■

Neil Clark is a journalist specializing in Middle Eastern and Balkan affairs.

Twilight in America

THE BUSH REGIME currently has wars underway in Afghanistan and in Iraq and can bring neither to a conclusion. Undeterred by these failures, the administration gives every indication that it intends to start a war with Iran, a country that is capable of responding to U.S. aggression over a broader front than the Sunni resistance has mounted in Iraq.

The U.S. lacks sufficient conventional capability to prevail in such widespread conflict. The U.S. also lacks the financial resources. Iraq alone has already cost several hundred billion borrowed dollars, with experts' estimates putting the ultimate cost in excess of one trillion dollars.

Moreover, Bush's belligerent foreign policy extends to regions beyond the Middle East, with the administration recently declaring election outcomes in former Soviet republics "unacceptable."

These "unacceptable" outcomes are those that do not empower parties aligned with the U.S. and NATO. Russians view the Bush regime's "democracy programs" for Ukraine, Georgia, and Belarus as an effort to push Russia northward and deprive it of warm-water ports. Russian leaders speak of the "messianism of American foreign policy" leading to a new cold war.

An article in the current issue of *Foreign Affairs* concludes that the Bush regime "is openly seeking primacy in every dimension of modern military technology, both in its conventional arsenal and in its nuclear forces." The article suggests that the U.S. has now achieved nuclear superiority and could succeed with a pre-emptive nuclear attack on both Russia and China. Considering the extreme delusions of the neoconservative warmongers, the publication of this article will encourage more aggressive assertions of American hegemony.

The article has "had an explosive effect" in Russia, according to former Prime Minister Yegor Gaidar. The fact that Russia's nuclear missiles are no longer seen to be sufficiently robust to serve as deterrents could dangerously unleash restraints on the neoconservatives' proclivity to impose their will on the world. The authors of the *Foreign Policy* article write that America's nuclear primacy positions us "to check the ambitions of dangerous states such as China, North Korea, and Iran." Neocons, of course, never see their own ambitions as dangerous.

The Bush administration has committed America to a foreign policy that means years of wars and likely pre-emptive U.S. nuclear attacks against other countries. How will Americans pay for the decades of war that the neocons are fomenting? The Afghan and Iraqi wars are being financed by the Chinese and Japanese, whose loans cover our budgetary red ink. Can U.S. nuclear primacy succeed in forcing the indefinite extension of this financing as a form of tribute? Can the neoconservatives subdue the Islamic Middle East with nuclear weapons without endangering the flow of oil?

We might have nuclear primacy, but we no longer have economic primacy. The U.S. economy has been living on debt. In 2005, American consumers overspent their incomes for the first time since the Great Depression. The rising trade deficit is cutting into economic growth. Middle-class jobs for Americans are being lost to offshore outsourcing and to foreigners brought in on work visas. Salaries in the jobs that remain are being forced down. *Business Week's* Michael Mandel compared starting salaries in 2005 with those in 2001. He found a 12.7 percent decline in computer-

science pay, a 12 percent decline in computer-engineering pay, and a 10.2 percent decline in electrical-engineering pay.

Economist Alan Blinder, a former vice-chairman of the Federal Reserve, estimates that 42-56 million American service-sector jobs are susceptible to offshore outsourcing. Whether or not all of these jobs leave, U.S. salaries will be forced down by the willingness of foreigners to do the work for less.

By substituting cheaper foreign labor for American labor, globalization boosts corporate profits and managerial bonuses at the expense of workers' pay. We are seeing the end of the broadly shared prosperity of the post-World War II era.

Americans at the lower end of the income scale are being decimated by massive legal and illegal immigration that has dramatically increased the labor supply in construction, cleaning services, and slaughterhouses.

With incomes flat or falling and prices rising, increased taxation to finance the neoconservatives' wars of aggression is not in the cards.

The Bush administration, with the support of both political parties, preaches democracy to the world while ignoring it at home. Polls show that Americans are opposed to open borders and amnesties for illegals. But a government willing to dictate to the world is willing to dictate to its own citizens. We are witnessing the American citizen's loss of his voice and the rise of concentrated power. The primacy that the neocons are seeking over the world will prevail over the American people, too. ■

Paul Craig Roberts was assistant secretary of the Treasury in the Reagan administration. Copyright Creators Syndicate, Inc.

Arts & Letters

FILM

[*Friends With Money*]

Maid in the Shade

By Steve Sailer

"Friends With Money" is an astutely observed ensemble film about four West Los Angeles women, one single and struggling (Jennifer Aniston) and three married with children and prospering (the terrific trio of fortyish actresses Joan Cusack, Catherine Keener, and Frances McDormand). The "Sideways" of chick-flicks, this low-key comedy balances on a knife-edge between excellence and inconsequentiality, drawing wildly varying reactions depending on the audience's mood. My wife liked it so much she saw it twice. While Saturday's crowd roared with laughter, Sunday's gaped impassively.

In Aniston's sitcom "Friends," the question "how they can afford that Manhattan apartment?" was seldom even raised, much less answered, but the low-budget "Friends with Money" is more realistic about how wealth matters.

In real life, Aniston, the former Mrs. Brad Pitt, has, I should hope, all the money she'll ever need. So to establish herself as a serious film actress, she worked cheap in this indie film's deglamorized lead role as a depressed former schoolteacher reduced to toiling as the last Anglo maid in L.A. Her character desperately needs both money and a man. A rich boyfriend would be ideal,

but she's too glum to put up with an aggressive go-getter.

Aniston is now 37. An actress' career typically peaks between 35 and 40, but that's also when her biological clock is ticking loudest. Her vastly publicized divorce from Pitt last year apparently involved, among other causes, his desiring children and her wanting to act. (So Angelina Jolie will soon bear Pitt's first-born.)

Despite her fame, Aniston is not quite a classic beauty—her jaw is too strong, lips too thin, nose too big, and face too narrow—but on "Friends" her vivacity and famous hairstyles covered up these imperfections. Here, though, she bravely lets writer-director Nicole Holofcener blunt her looks and energy for the good of the story.

Meanwhile, the three supporting actresses in "Friends With Money" have reached the age where even a modest paycheck for playing roles this insightful is welcome. This is not to say that they, or any aging performers, are hurting for money. (I hope you don't share this concern of mine, but I can't help but worry that any celebrity I like could ever fall so humiliatingly low as to require non-celebrity employment.) Fortunately, the long housing boom in fashionable cities means that most veteran film actors are now so rich in real estate that, no matter how wrinkly they become, they'll never endure the ultimate indignity of having, like you or me, to get a real job.

Joan Cusack portrays a benevolent rich woman who buys a \$10,000 table for her friends to share at a fundraising banquet for Lou Gehrig's Disease. Aniston's character, whose date is a client who chiseled her housecleaning fee down from \$65 to \$50 per week, isn't terribly comfortable at the kind of Beverly

Hills charity auction where you can bid on having Reese Witherspoon knit you a sweater.

Last year, at age 45, Catherine Keener's career finally caught fire as she was nominated for a Best Supporting Actress Oscar for "Capote." Here she plays a movie screenwriter who teams with her husband to write romantic comedies but whose own marriage is turning into a grim farce.

In the old days, husband-wife writing teams, such as Albert Hackett and Frances Goodrich ("It's a Wonderful Life") were common, but now that teenage boys are the target audience, more prevalent are brother acts like the Wachowskis ("V for Vendetta"), the Farrellys ("There's Something About Mary"), the Wayans ("Scary Movie"), and the Coens ("Fargo"). The only notable sister act is the Ephrons of "You've Got Mail."

Joel Coen's wife, Frances McDormand, whose wonderful turn as the pregnant sheriff in "Fargo" won her an Oscar, plays a menopausal fashion designer. She's angry because she's not getting any younger and because her friends think her metrosexual husband, a sweet-natured Roddy McDowall-type, is gay when he's really just English.

The five depressed characters in "Friends With Money" can be a downer, but as psychiatrist Peter Kramer noted in *Listening to Prozac*, high and popular culture over the last century teemed with depressives, in part because they are often mordantly funny. Yet the film's sadness makes the clever happy ending, a plot twist of which Jane Austen would have approved, that much more surprising and sweet. ■

Rated R for language, some sexual content, and brief drug use.

BOOKS

[*Neo-conned! Just War Principles: A Condemnation of War in Iraq*, D.L. O'Huallachain and J. Forrest Sharpe, eds., *Light in the Darkness Publications*, 447 pages]

The Case for Peace

By Daniel McCarthy

FOR SOME TIME NOW, opponents of the Iraq War have needed a concise and sober compendium of the literature against the invasion—an epitome of the antiwar argument that could be given to friends and relatives who have never made up their minds about the conflict, or who once supported it and now have the sneaking suspicion that they were conned.

Neo-conned is not that book, but it is the next best thing. It collects three distinct, but related, kinds of antiwar essays. Its first section examines the events leading up to the invasion in 2003, including the case for the war itself and the effects of 12 years of sanctions. The essays of the second part represent conservative arguments against the war. The third, and largest, component of the book places the Iraq conflict in the context of Catholic just-war tradition. A companion volume, *Neo-Conned Again*, assembles an even wider range of antiwar material, including contributions from prominent leftists like Noam Chomsky.

What prevents *Neo-conned* from being an ideal introduction to conservative and Catholic opposition to the war is that the reader must exercise considerable caution, and a fair amount of skepticism, with some of the essays. The book opens with an extended interview with Jude Wanniski, the trailblazing supply-side economist and conservative

maverick who died last year. Wanniski was a brave, good, and principled man, but he goes too far in the interview—"The (Bogus) Case Against Saddam"—to give the deposed dictator the benefit of the doubt. He is treading on treacherous ground when he claims that Saddam did not gas the Kurdish town of Halabja in 1988 and did not have genocide in mind with his Anfal campaign against the Kurds. Wanniski has sources for these claims, but readers must be aware that those sources are in the minority and in some cases are ambiguous about their own conclusions. And when Wanniski says of Kuwait's economic policies in the late 1980s, "the life of Iraq was being threatened by the [Kuwaiti] Emir," he comes dangerously close to justifying Saddam's aggression.

Jude Wanniski was no Saddamite, but he was an arch-contrarian, and supporters of the Iraq War have found it easy to paint him as a kook. Unprepared readers who repeat his arguments will open themselves to embarrassment. What is perhaps just as bad, embarrassed readers might be inclined to dismiss all of what Wanniski says—even though there can be no disputing many of the instances of U.S. and Kuwaiti government duplicity he recites. The daughter of Kuwait's then-ambassador to the U.S. did indeed lie to Congress in 1990 when she claimed to be a simple nurse who had witnessed Iraqi soldiers throwing Kuwaiti babies out of incubators. And photographs taken (and sold commercially) by Soviet satellites that year actually do show that Saddam's forces were not massing for an invasion of Saudi Arabia—leaving Pentagon spokesman Bob Hall to claim, "They—the Iraqi troops—are there. We would like it to remain a mystery what our intelligence capabilities are. We are not going to make our intelligence public," which certainly sounds suspicious in light of later intelligence frauds used to justify Middle Eastern wars.

Immediately after Wanniski's essay comes one even more problematic: a Shi'ite ex-Ba'athist's account of Saddam's generous treatment of the writer's

co-religionists. Muhammad al-Bagh-dadi's argument, such as it is, consists of listing various state offices under Saddam Hussein that were occupied by Shi'ites. He also tells us that Saddam gave state cars to certain Shi'ite clerics. Even assuming this is true, none of it is germane to the claims adduced by the war's supporters—and not just supporters—to show that Saddam persecuted the Shi'ites. Their charges rest less on how many Shi'ites Saddam did or did not employ than on the facts of his forcible suppression of pilgrimages, his assassination of clerics like Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr and Muhammad Sadiq al-Sadr, and the murder of other Shi'ites for religious-political reasons. Again, the unwary or uninformed reader risks being led astray.

That the two most problematic pieces in the collection come within its first 90 pages seriously compromises *Neo-conned*. What follows, however, more than compensates for the defects of those early pages. Rounding out the first section of the book are Patrick Buchanan's essay "Whose War," originally published in *TAC*, and two articles detailing the consequences of the economic sanctions leveled against Iraq beginning in 1990. Of the latter, "The Real 'Oil-for-Food' Scandal" by Joy Gordon, reprinted from *Harper's*, is especially valuable.

Professor Gordon's article by itself comes close to justifying the book's cover price; she presents a compelling argument that the sanctions, which cost the lives of over 200,000 Iraqi children between 1990 and 1998 according to the most reliable estimates, were "themselves a form of violence ... they cannot legitimately be seen merely as a peace-keeping device, or as a tool for enforcing international law." The Pentagon knew from the start what effect the sanctions would have. Gordon cites a Defense Department report that noted, "[d]egraded medical conditions in Iraq are primarily attributable to the breakdown of public services (water purification and distribution, transportation). ... Hospital care is degraded by lack of running water and electricity," all caused or

greatly exacerbated by the sanctions. She compares this to siege warfare:

Siege has the character of being a form of warfare which itself constitutes a war crime. By its very nature, it is easily foreseeable or calculated to cause *direct* harm to those who are, in just-war doctrine, supposed to be exempt from warfare—the apolitical and unarmed—in order to influence *indirectly* those who are armed and those who are responsible for military and political decisions.

The next set of essays, seven in number, come chiefly from traditionalist conservative critics of the Iraq War, including the late Sam Francis, Joseph Sobran, Thomas Fleming, and Paul Gottfried. The agrarian Wendell Berry also features here, arguing that the U.S. economy is “a war economy—an economy, one might justly say, of general violence.” “The free market,” contends

Berry, “is [becoming] less and less distinguishable from warfare.” Coming after Gordon’s carefully argued critique of sanctions, Berry’s assertions read almost like a parody—don’t look to his contribution for a thoughtful, or even polemical, discussion of the military-industrial complex. He contents himself with railing against capitalism in the abstract, and by conflating capitalism with war he plays into the worst stereotypes about the antiwar Left. It’s an unfortunate misfire.

Paul Gottfried’s “A Conservative War?” provides the crux of this section. Gottfried questions how a war aimed at democratization and the total transformation of a foreign land’s culture and politics can in any sense be considered conservative. “Attempts to preserve a customary way of life against outside threats, and to resist violence directed against persons and property fit the definition of a conservative war,” he says, and nothing of the sort was at stake in Iraq. In this, he is surely correct. But Gottfried’s explanation for the mislabeling of the war leaves something to be desired: “What makes it ‘conservative’ is where its advocates”—neoconservatives, that is—“are positioned.” The mainstream media, according to Gottfried, is happy to let neoconservatives stand in for genuine conservatives, who in many cases “can hurt themselves [professionally] by disagreeing with neoconservative censors; and since the war has become a *test* of conservative and Republican loyalties, those who *depend* on the party or the movement may try not to seem out of step.”

All true, yet Gottfried discounts the sheer number of self-identified conservatives—grassroots as well as inside-the-Beltway—who supported the war without any prompting from “neoconservative censors.” Whatever their reasons—reflexive partisanship, gung-ho nationalism, a residual Cold War ideological commitment to democracy—most ordinary conservatives found this war readily compatible with their beliefs. This is a great shame to all of us who call ourselves conservatives, but

there is no denying the fact. The rot runs deeper than neoconservatism.

By far the greatest part of *Neoconned*, more than half of the book, is devoted to measuring the Iraq War against the standards of just-war doctrine, in most chapters from an explicitly Catholic perspective. These essays are the most compelling in the book, which is no slight to the preceding material. Contributions come from laymen, clergy, former soldiers, academics, and others, they add up to the most thorough exposition of the Catholic antiwar position that has yet been published, or is likely to be published for some time. The just-war teachings of the Church, moreover, should not only be of interest to Catholics; these precepts have developed over more than a thousand years of conscientious criticism of war both in theory and practice. Even readers with no religious leanings can profit from studying this tradition.

Fr. Juan Carlos Iscara’s essay offers a primer on just-war teachings. The piece that follows, by Professor Thomas Ryba of Purdue University, is an advanced course, scrutinizing the different varieties of just-war theory expounded by Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, and later Thomists on the one hand and the more probabilistic—and permissive—interpretation of just-war doctrine promulgated by Francisco Suarez and more modern thinkers. The rigorous standards of the earlier school can be seen in the words of the 16th-century Thomist Dominicus Bañez: “the state that wishes to declare war must not entertain a single doubt, the justifying reasons must be clearer than day. A declaration of war is equivalent to a sentence of death; to pronounce the latter with a doubtful conscience is murder.” For his part, Ryba argues for an even more restrictive, nearly pacifistic, standard on epistemological grounds.

Other contributors sketch the limits of the state’s sovereign authority in war, refute the just-war arguments made by supporters of the Iraq invasion, assess the justice of new technologies (and ideologies) of war, and defend conscien-

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tious objection—even for soldiers on active duty. The writers are not afraid to highlight the tensions between being a Catholic and being an American; indeed, William Cavanaugh, associate professor of theology at the University of St. Thomas, suggests that the failure on the part of many American Catholics to take just-war teachings seriously arises from “a fundamental inability of many U.S. Catholics and other Christians to imagine being out of step with the American nation-state. It should not be so difficult to suppose that the gospel does not always magically coincide with American foreign policy, or that Jesus has something to say that is irreconcilable with what Dick Cheney or Richard Perle thinks.”

Perhaps most important of all is the text of a 2003 letter from Bishop John Michael Botean, the Eastern Rite Romanian Catholic eparch of the diocese of St. George in Canton, Ohio. Bishop Botean says outright, in terms binding upon his diocese, “Direct participation in this war is the moral equivalent of direct participation in an abortion. For the Catholics of the Eparchy of St. George, I hereby authoritatively state that such direct participation is intrinsically and gravely evil and therefore absolutely forbidden.” Only the pope can overrule an Eastern Rite bishop’s instructions to his flock on faith and morals—or if pope were persuaded that Bishop Botean had reasoned correctly in his prohibition, he could issue the same command to all Roman Catholics.

Benedict XVI is unlikely to take either action. What Bishop Botean’s letter accomplishes, however—beyond its effect upon his own diocese—is to reveal for Catholics just how high the spiritual stakes of the Iraq War are. The rest of *Neo-conned* achieves something similar, conveying not only to Catholics but to other readers as well the gulf between the claims of conscience and justifications that have been offered for the Iraq War. The book proves that one cannot defer moral reasoning to the state, not even—or least of all—in times of war. ■

[*Rednecks and Blunecks: The Politics of Country Music*, Chris Willman, New Press, 256 pages]

Dueling Banjos

By Marcus Epstein

IN 1974, Richard Nixon told the audience at the Grand Ole Opry,

The peace of the world for generations, maybe centuries to come, will depend not just on America’s military might ... or our wealth ... but it is going to depend on our character, our belief in ourselves, our love of our country, our willingness to not only wear the flag but to stand up for the flag. And country music does that.

At a time when rock music was dominated by the counterculture, Nixon viewed country as the voice of his silent majority. He invited singers such as Johnny Cash and Merle Haggard who penned patriotic pieces to play at the White House.

Today, Nashville pumps out pro-war tunes, and virtually the only celebrities George W. Bush could get for his inauguration were country singers. On the surface, country music appears to be filled with “Conservative Christian, right-wing, Republican, straight, white, American males—soul savin’, flag wavin’, Rush lovin’, land pavin’ personal friends to the Quayles,” as alt-country singer Todd Snider describes his antagonists.

Chris Willman, a contributor to *Entertainment Weekly* and the *Los Angeles Times*, tries to give a more complex landscape of the ideological divisions in country in his book *Rednecks and Blunecks*.

Willman is not much of an authority on politics or country music, but this is not necessarily a shortcoming. He makes no pretenses of expertise and paints a portrait of the differing views of various politicians, musicians, executives, and fans in breezy and conversa-

tional prose rather than making the book a platform for his own opinions on music and politics. The book includes interviews with Jimmy Carter about country music and also with about every single living country star who has something to say about politics.

As one would expect, a great deal of attention is given to the controversies over the war on terror and invasion of Iraq. Alan Jackson’s tribute “Where Were You” won the hearts of Americans with differing musical and political views after 9/11. Rather than get on a soapbox, he candidly admitted, “I’m not sure I can tell you the difference in Iraq and Iran.”

Toby Keith was less humble in “The Angry American,” which celebrated American-led carnage with the memorable line, “we’ll put a boot up your ass, it’s the American way.” Heavy on emotion but light on prosody is Darryl Worley’s “Have you Forgotten,” in which the eponymous question is preceded with the dissonantly rhyming, “and you say we shouldn’t worry ‘bout bin Laden.” Both singers insist that their numbers were about Afghanistan, not Iraq, but they supported the Iraq invasion, and the songs certainly were interpreted by their fans as endorsements. Other pro-war or patriotic hits include Trace Atkins’s “Arlington,” Keith’s “American Soldier,” and Clint Black’s “Iraq and Roll”

While attacking George W. Bush is fashionable in most areas of pop culture, it is not a savvy career move for mainstream country musicians. Shortly before the invasion of Iraq, the Dixie Chicks’ Natalie Maines told a London crowd, “We’re ashamed the president of the United States is from Texas.” Her criticism knocked the band from the top of the charts to the dumpster. Most country stations stopped playing their music for at least the initial months of the war. One even employed a John Deere to crush listener-donated CDs. The less original simply had their fans throw Dixie Chick albums in the trash or stomp on them. Toby Keith—who was already irked by Maines’s criticism of

"The Angry American"—superimposed her likeness on Saddam Hussein and projected the image as the background for one of his concerts.

Willman has a hard time identifying where the pro-war fervor in country musicians and fans originates. He notes that there were a number of pro-Vietnam War tunes during the height of that era's antiwar movement but that by the mid-1970s the major trend in country was the "outlaw movement." Outlaw country was spearheaded by the collaborations of the liberal Willie Nelson with the conservative Waylon Jennings, who self-consciously saw their music uniting rednecks and hippies.

Willman blames Hank Williams Jr. for transforming Willie and Waylon's outlaw mentality into "extreme right wing bravado, backed by bad electronic drums." Despite this mischaracterization of Bocephus's music and politics, Hank Jr.'s stands can be quite revealing.

As the Vietnam War ended and the Cold War drew to a close, the cultural differences between the heartland and the antiwar movement remained. Hank

Willman mentions that Bocephus changed the lyrics and title of "A Country Boy Can Survive" to "America Will Survive" after 9/11, but he ignores how much the message was altered. Far from advocating the "cultural separatism" that Willman saw in "A Country Boy," Williams stated, "We're from North California and South Alabam'/And all they've done is unite this whole land/ There's no more Yankees and Rebels this time/But one united people that stand behind."

Since 9/11, the conservative cultural attitude that Williams and millions of Americans have expressed has turned itself into pro-war sentiment at the expense of domestic conservatism. Montgomery Gentry's 2004 hit "You Do Your Thing" employs a similar culture-warrior attitude to "A Country Boy Can Survive" but chides the big-city liberals for opposing the war in Iraq.

Conservatives do not dominate all facets of country music. Many of the executives who produce pro-war records are left-wing "Music Row Democrats." Willman also examines the

with money, who was handed absolutely everything he's ever had, really give a f---k about people who go to work every day and figure out how to send their kids to college?" A left-wing Nashville executive told Willman, "I'd like to say to [conservative country stars] Travis Tritt and Leann Womack, that the one thing they'd better understand is that their core constituency is getting f---d."

It is this condescending "we know what is better for you" attitude that turns off many rural Americans from the Left. Another problem is that for all the talk about how the Republicans are using social issues to woo middle and working class whites away from their economic interests, the liberals in this book never ask why the Democrats take left-wing stands on social issues.

One band that Willman does not look at is Alabama, who topped the charts in 1988 with "Song of the South," which explicitly praised the New Deal: "Cotton was short and the weeds were tall/but Mr. Roosevelt's a gonna save us all ... Daddy got a job with the TVA/He bought a washing machine and then a Chevrolet." Another chart-topper, "40 Hour Week," even employs left-wing economics, explaining "but the fruits of their labor is worth more than their pay." Yet the band proudly displayed a large Confederate flag behind them at every show and expressed their Christian beliefs. More than anyone, Alabama represents the "guys with Confederate flags in their pickup trucks" who Howard Dean suggested ought to have a place in Democratic Party.

The Southern pride in country does not manifest itself into racism. Willman notes that the genre has actually been quite liberal on the issue. Tanya Tucker's "I Believe the South is Going to Rise Again" praised the civil-rights movement, and Merle Haggard's "Irma Hayes" defended a fictitious interracial couple. Black singer Charlie Pride met very little resistance from southern country DJs or fans during the tumultuous 1960s. Willman laments that no black country stars have arisen since Pride was embraced

WILLMAN BLAMES HANK WILLIAMS JR. FOR TRANSFORMING WILLIE AND WAYLON'S OUTLAW MENTALITY INTO "EXTREME RIGHT WING BRAVADO, BACKED BY BAD ELECTRONIC DRUMS."

made a number of hits in the late '70s and '80s that had nothing to do with war. They did, however, exalt Southern and Middle American values over high taxes, gun control, the Democratic-controlled Congress, and above all New York City in songs like "If the South Would Have Won (We'd Have it Made)," "I Got Rights," and most famously, "A Country Boy Can Survive." The last is a tribute to a friend from New York City who was stabbed to death by a mugger. After extolling the virtues of backwoods over city life, he famously says of the perpetrator, "I'd love to spit some Beechnut in that dude's eyes, and shoot him with my old '45."

more bohemian alt-country scene, which is dominated by liberals. There, he sees much of the same narrow-mindedness that emanates from the pro-war Right. One anonymous alt-country exec said, "They talk about tolerance, but when it comes to being tolerant for somebody who voted for Bush, I'm not sure you see that."

Much of the criticism from the liberals in this book seems to center on the incongruity between Bush's folksy get up and his supposedly anti-working-man policies. Alt-country musician Robbie Fulks asks, "If you went to Andover, what's the banjo fer?" Texas roots rocker Steve Earle is less tongue-in-cheek: "Does a guy who grew up

by white southerners during “less enlightened” times.

While few African Americans are vying to be the next Charlie Pride, plenty of white country singers are trying to be the next Eminem. In the last few years, a number of musicians have begun adopting the mannerisms of hip-hop culture. In 2004, the duo Big and Rich broke through the charts with their enormously popular single “Save a Horse (Ride a Cowboy).” The song is full of rap slang and promotes the flashy materialism that you would expect to see on *MTV Cribs*. This year, Trace Atkins had a #1 with “Honky Tonk Badonkadonk.” For those not fluent in ebonics, “Badonkadonk” is a synonym for “ghetto booty.”

It doesn’t stop there. Big and Rich have introduced Cowboy Troy and his “hick hop”—a fusion of rap and country—to Nashville. Tim McGraw has gone a step farther by collaborating with non-cowboy rapper Nelly. In the 1990s many Democrats would denounce rap music for its effect on American culture, yet now conservative country stars like Atkins imitate the music while the Bush twins quote Outkast at the GOP convention.

One singer who did not “shake it like a Polaroid picture” with Barbara Bush was Merle Haggard. During the height of the Vietnam War, he wrote “Okie from Muskogee” and “The Fighting Side of Me” criticizing the antiwar movement. Today he is one the few country singers to speak out against the war in Iraq, but he does not sound like a typical leftist. His latest single, “Rebuild America First,” asks, “Why don’t we liberate these United States/We’re the ones that need it worst/Let the rest of the world help us for a change/And let’s rebuild America first.” In a society where the music of conservative Middle Americans is imitating hip-hop culture and promoting foreign aid when it’s not agitating for war, we should take these words to heart. ■

Marcus Epstein is director of research for Team America PAC.

[*The Victory of Reason: How Christianity Led to Freedom, Capitalism, and Western Success*, Rodney Stark, Random House, 281 pages]

How the West Won

By Gerald J. Russello

IN RECENT YEARS, particularly since 9/11, we have endured the end of history, the clash of civilizations, the triumph of worldwide democracy, and a flat world. Most of these analogies are meant to serve as interpretive keys to understanding the impact of Western ideas across the globe. But these tropes all, to a large extent, embrace a similar conception of Western historical development, one that is misguided at key points, especially in the treatment of Christianity. In *The Victory of Reason*, Rodney Stark, the University Professor of the Social Sciences at Baylor University, examines a broader, more basic question: why the West has been able to assert its dominance the world over, either politically or economically. *The Victory of Reason* is an old-fashioned polemic designed to shake Western elites who have consigned their history down the memory hole and to provide a reminder of the unique conditions of Western culture.

The first part of the book, “Foundations,” addresses why Christian Europe gave birth to free and capitalist societies while Islam and the more advanced societies of the East did not. He posits four reasons: the “development of faith in progress within Christian theology”; the way “that faith in progress translated into technical and organizational innovation”; the emergence, as a result of Christian theology, of “responsive states, sustaining a substantial degree of personal freedom”; and finally, “the application of reason to commerce,” which resulted in capitalism. These four did not appear all at once, or all in the same places at the same time, but Stark

argues that they coincided in the same places long enough to create the unique conditions of Western success.

Belief in the Christian God presupposes belief in an intelligible universe through which that God could be understood. As Stark makes clear, this is an uncommon theology. In Rome and Greece, the gods were mercurial and had little to offer mankind. Much less did they provide a spur to empirical reasoning about the natural world. The ancient religions of the East offer great and rich traditions of sacrifice and contemplation of the divine and also developed strong ethical systems. But no other religion expected its adherents to reason about God to the same extent as Christianity, except perhaps Judaism (to which Stark, in his efforts to contrast Christianity with the Eastern religions, does not devote enough attention). Reason, therefore, was good, a divine gift that allowed humanity to understand the nature of the divine.

This belief had social as well as political effects. If reason could be used to understand divinity, it could also legitimately be used to lesser purposes, such as manufacturing, industry, and innovation. Thus, as Stark recounts, the belief in reason gave rise to science, which he defines as the explanation of nature through systematic observations subject to confirmation. Stark puts to rest the old falsehood that Catholic Europe was backward and merely waiting for ancient Greek texts transmitted through Arab intermediaries to effect the Renaissance. Rather, as Stark points out, the medievals rejected Greek “science” that did not conform to their experience, even as they adopted parts of Greek philosophy. The comparison with Byzantium—which never lost contact with its Greek heritage—is instructive, in that science never progressed to the same degree there as in the West.

The second part of the book, “Fulfillment,” sets out a traditional free-market argument that societies characterized by low taxes, light regulation, and the security of property will do better—understood as being more prosperous—than

those with high taxes and a large government regulatory apparatus. The former societies allow for stable firms and long-term investment. The fall of Rome therefore was, in fact, the beginning of a great boon to the West rather than the disaster that too many historians, perhaps carried away by images of grandeur remembered from sixth-form Latin lessons, believe it to be. The pagan world was a slave culture, but Christianity, though at first tolerating slavery, ultimately determined that the institution was incompatible with a civilized world. Because every human was a creation in the image and likeness of God, it became untenable and indeed sinful to hold slaves. This is a development that too many historians, blinded by the racist defenses of slavery (which relied more on supposed science than on the Bible) have conveniently forgotten. Further, in the centuries following Rome's fall, "the so-called Dark Ages saw an extraordinary outburst of innovation in both technology and culture." This too was the result of characteristics of Christian theology. The Bible does not condemn commerce, and the great monastic estates were some of the first large integrated commercial enterprises, combining complicated means of production with a far-flung trading network bound together by a sophisticated understanding of finance.

The city-states of late medieval Italy achieved the ideal, in Stark's account, of limited, democratic government and a robust understanding of capitalism. He provides thumbnail sketches of Venice, Milan, Genoa, and Florence to show how and why these cities became the cradles of what we now would call a bourgeois Christian society. Compared to them, the high-tax and heavily governed Spain and France in the 16th and 17th centuries were backwaters. Thus also Byzantium: because the eastern Roman emperor was supreme and the property and in some cases the lives of his subjects were completely at his disposal, the East lacked the same conditions for prosperity and economic growth as the West.

The economic revolution moved from the cities of northern Italy to the Netherlands, so that by the late 15th-century

Antwerp was perhaps the richest city in Europe. By the time of the Protestant Reformation, free societies that encouraged stable property relations and technological innovations had been in place for centuries, and Stark nicely skewers Max Weber's thesis of the "Protestant work ethic." Weber's argument, contends Stark, was based on a misunderstanding of the Catholic tradition and did not account for the elements of capitalism already present in the early Christian and medieval economy. That ethic inhered in the nature of Christianity and was present in Catholic societies almost from the beginning. Weber missed this, and his interpretation has caused generations of scholars to go astray in examining developments such as early banking and medieval improvements in agriculture.

Stark's argument is well-researched, stimulating, and no doubt intentionally provocative. Divided into relatively short sections, his book is perfect for a quick refresher on often neglected portions of Western history. But the book is necessarily limited and meant more as an overview than as a full examination of Western culture. Certain areas are slighted, others not addressed at all. His discussion of the contributions of the Greeks could be fuller. His dichotomy between Greek and Christian legacies is too sharp and depends a little too much on arbitrary boundaries. Sure, some in the West rejected Aristotelian science in favor of an empirical method, but in other disciplines the Greeks held sway. Ptolemy's *Geography*, for example, was being published into the early 16th century with what were known to be mistakes because tampering too much with such an ancient authority was not permitted.

Further, and more importantly, Stark risks treating Christianity only instrumentally. Often in *The Victory of Reason*, faith seems a handmaid to better windmills or improved weaving techniques, but that is surely not how Christian merchants perceived the relationship of faith to work. As the historian Christopher Dawson noted, material conditions and the quality of a culture often do not coincide. The

ancient Hebrews had the richest, most spiritually significant culture of the Near East, but theirs was among the poorest and weakest of those cultures. The Christian culture that emerged in the late Roman Empire, despised and outlawed, a faith fit for slaves, could not compare with the wealth or success of the surrounding pagan world. Yet it still triumphed. The nuances of cultural development are largely lost here. The theological message obscured in Stark's book is that those whom God favors are not promised riches in this world, though that may also happen; their true home lies elsewhere. A Christian culture that evangelizes on the basis of improved eyeglasses and (as Stark sees it) "modernization" has hollowed itself.

On the larger questions, too, Stark stumbles. The book assumes an implicit equivalence between capitalism in its specifically Christian context and its current rootless, global avatar. Indeed, Stark notes that in places like China, "becoming a Christian is intrinsic to being modern. Thus, it is quite plausible that Christianity remains an essential element in the globalization of modernity." What "Christian" means now is a complex question not examined in *The Victory of Reason*. Evangelicals are not 16th-century Calvinists, and many modern Catholics are a world away from the good merchants of Venice. Further, there has been a strong counter-tradition in Christian thought, especially since of the industrial revolution, which has been critical of modern capitalism and includes figures such as Chesterton and David Schindler. Historians such as Dawson were critical of secularized theories of progress and carefully distinguished the city of man from the city of God. This tradition is nowhere in sight in this book. One is left to puzzle over whether, and to what extent, global capitalism combines true evangelizing with baser motives. ■

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Case of the Missing Moon



Manliness, I am told, has been out of fashion for at least three decades, what with the likes of Gary Cooper and Robert Mitchum no longer around.

But Harvey Mansfield's eponymous book has rekindled the controversy over what embodies manliness.

The manly virtues of courage, sacrifice, and chivalry took a beating sometime during the late '60s, with the backlash against the Vietnam War and Women's Lib taking most of the credit for the decline of traditional manliness. Out went the rugged types, in came sensitive, caring, pacifist vegetarians. And, of course, homosexuals.

The gender-neutral society was still in its infancy when a friend of mine, Martin Gross, author of *The Red President* and numerous other books, approached me with an interesting proposal. Martin is a serious writer and editor and asked whether I was willing to run something he had written under my byline. The reason he didn't want the treatise under his own name was because, as an academic, writing the kind of essay he was proposing was a real no-no. It had to do with the difference between men and women. I looked at it and immediately declined. It was a scholarly essay, one that anyone who hadn't been living in Albania for the last 50 years would have known instantly was not my work.

Martin was actually joking. He wanted me to read it and tell him what I thought. What it said was very simple. Men and women had different chromosomes, which make for the difference between them. Oh yes, and another small detail. Women's brains are missing a moon, on the right side, I believe, which makes it more difficult for them to absorb abstract thoughts. The absence of such a moon makes it easier to register emotion, as in the love of a mother for her child, and so on.

Well, the thing was never published and just as well. But what did happen was a lunch at the Chateau de Rougemont, in Switzerland, which at the time was rented by Bill and Pat Buckley during the skiing season. Their son Christopher, the humorist and author of many books including, *Thank You For Smoking*, had suffered from migraine headaches throughout his adult life. After many false diagnoses and lots of pain, one doctor, a brain specialist, discovered a cure. All Christo had to do was stop smoking and—presto!—the headaches disappeared. The parents were obviously delighted and invited the good doctor to Rougemont to stay and for a grand luncheon in his honor. Pat filled the room with ladies who lunch but don't ski, plus Bill, Christo, and myself. Sometime during the three-course meal, I came up with my theory about the missing moon in

Christo, and I gulped down our cups and took off for the slopes. Once on top of the mountain, and while putting on our skis, the doc leaned over to me and said in a rather nonchalant way: "You know, your theory is full of crap, but I simply couldn't resist seeing their faces when I told them." Needless to say, he remains my hero for coming to the rescue when I needed it most.

Actually, I have never bothered to find out whether Martin's theory is full of crap or not, because I really don't care. Men are men and women are women, as far as I'm concerned, and that about covers it. But as we all know—all except those who don't want to—in American universities today there are whole areas barred from discussion. Genetics, race, sex, intelligence are a few of the many unmentionables. Lawrence Summers is the latest example of what happens when someone dares to say what is obvious. The Harvard president is now an ex-president, although I'm sure he could get a job at a moment's notice in Saudi Arabia, for example.

LAWRENCE SUMMERS IS THE LATEST EXAMPLE OF WHAT HAPPENS WHEN SOMEONE DARES TO SAY WHAT IS OBVIOUS.

response to one lady banging on about something some idiotic feminist had said. A friend, Doris Brynner, was outraged. "Listen," she yelled, "Taki is now claiming we're missing half our brains..."

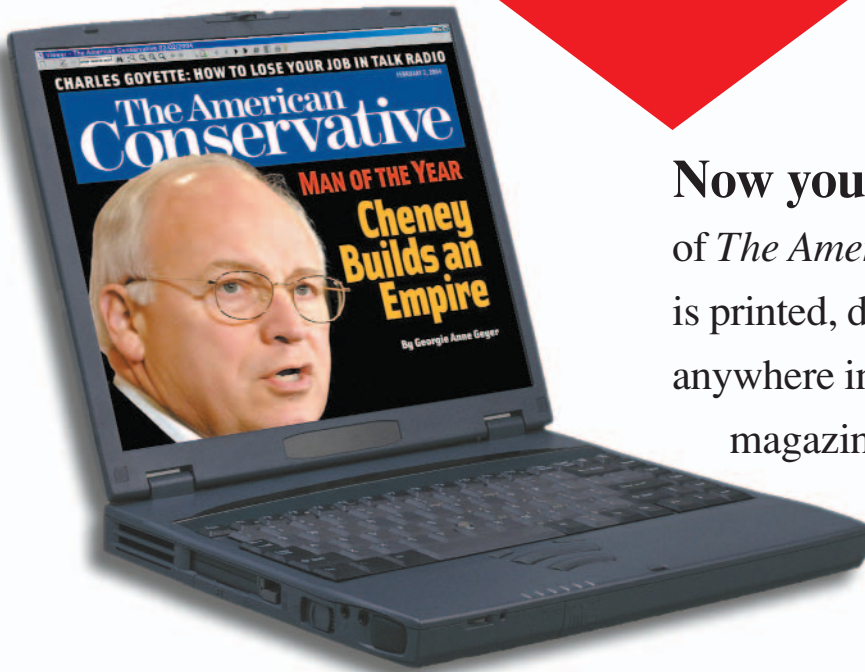
Boos all around and general condemnation followed, until suddenly the good doctor clinked his glass. "I'm afraid the gentleman is right," he said in a serious voice. "I operate daily and, of course, there is a moon missing on a woman's brain."

Deflation of outraged egos and apologies followed. Pat asked for coffee in the drawing room, and Bill, the doctor,

I have not read Mansfield's book on manliness, but from what I hear it's a real winner. The author includes all sorts of female icons such as Plato and Aristotle, Hobbes, Locke, and Spinoza in his treatise, and unlike David Brooks, he gets the meaning of the word *thymos* right the first time out.

Manliness, according to Mansfield, is a "house with many mansions," which in my two-moon mind means it includes physical as well as intellectual courage, something not often found in one-moon female minds among American academics. ■

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